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US study sparks new European defence debate

DIE ZEIT

First came the bombshell US strategic study recommending that a third of this country be abandoned in the event of a Soviet attack, then President Carter's prompt reassurance, which quickly allowed the dust to settle.

"US policy," Mr Carter stated, "is to maintain forward defence all over Europe. It is a tried and trusted policy drawn up jointly with our Nato allies. It remains entirely unchanged."

No attempt has been made, on the other hand, to deny that the confidential report as leaked albeit in oversimplified summary, was actually compiled as Presidential Review momorandum 10.

But PRM 10 is, after all, merely a review and not official policy. Yet experience has nonetheless shown that past changes in US policy and strategy have usually been heralded by studies of this kind, compiled both by official advisers and unofficial analysts.

Ever since the days of President Kennedy Bonn in particular has been somewhat mistrustful of reviews. Jimmy Carter may not be John F. Kennedy, but he too, initially perhaps more so than at present, was motivated by an imponderable urge to make fundamental changes.

Few of Mr Carter's closest advisers are career civil servants. With few exceptions (including, however, national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski) they were unknown quantities as far as Europe was concerned, not to say political amateurs briefing a still inexperienced President.

Against this background, and not to mention the bombshell nature of the subject matter, the effect in Bonn and at Nato headquarters was a foregone conclusion.

The outline carried by the *Washington Post* and the *International Herald Tribune* and written by columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak made the following assertions:

— In the event of a Soviet attack a third of this country, including Hamburg and Munich, will be abandoned to the aggressor because the forward defence potential is insufficient to hold the territory in question.

— The retreat to a defence line further back from the border is rendered necessary because the funds needed for forward defence of this country by conventional means are not forthcoming in the United States.

— Mr Brzezinski accordingly advises a stalemate strategy of falling back on the Weser-Lech line, leaving the Soviet Union to draw the political consequence of its act of aggression.

— These, he is said to have stated, include world opinion, condemnation by the United Nations and mobilisation by the United States. Fear of these consequences represents a powerful deterrent.

In order to contain the devastating political effect of the leak Mr Brzezinski immediately rang Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to let him know that the President was about to issue a disclaimer.

He also summarised further explanations he had given Vice-President Mondale, General George Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Turner of the CIA and US disarmament delegate Paul Warnke when the review had come up for discussion.

The options Mr Brzezinski had outlined included resort to nuclear weapons, the mobilisation of between 100 and 150 divisions in order to throw the adversary back with the aid of conventional forces, a ground forces stalemate coupled with nuclear retaliation and, finally, an attack on targets in the Soviet Union itself.

Mr Carter's immediate clarification leaves no one in the slightest doubt as to Presidential policy. He emphasised the continuity of US commitments in Europe at the London summit in May, describing Nato as the crux of US foreign policy and calling for military reinforcement of the pact.

The estimates on which Mr Brzezinski bases his judgement on Western military presence in Central Europe are nonetheless questionable, as is his assumption that up to 150 divisions could be mobilised to bring about conventional stalemate.

This constitutes an alarming discrepancy between his assessment of the situation from behind closed doors and the political reiteration of forward defence commitments by the President.

The public review will certainly no longer be restricted to the credibility or otherwise of the deterrent. After the lightning attack scare early this year and the latest insight into the views of security adviser Brzezinski we must pay more attention than hitherto to the preconditions of forward defence were the deterrent to prove insufficient.

Forward defence is the political yeast of Nato. Were it to be abandoned Nato itself would face the threat of rapid disintegration, so it is only too easy to see why President Carter was so quick to reassure his Nato allies.

What is more, this is only part of the problem. The call for reinforcement of conventional forces is giving rise to difficulties everywhere.

The United States is in the process of stepping up its troop strength in Europe, stationing a brigade near Bremen which will be the first full-scale US unit in the north of this country.

But the President is unlikely to gain Congressional approval of higher expenditure unless Europe itself spends more on defence, which is an unlikely prospect.

This country cannot fill everyone else's gaps; its defence contribution is second to none in Europe as it is. Spectacular decisions, moreover, can only be taken at the risk of prejudicing the Vienna troop cut talks.

So a fundamental weakness of the West remains irremediable for the time being. On the one hand President Carter is opposed to an early resort to tactical nuclear weapons in the event of hostilities (a viewpoint that is surely in this country's interest too); on the other we lack the conventional forces that would be needed both to forestall the need to fall back on the nuclear option and, indeed, to maintain the doctrine of forward defence.

Mr Brzezinski's review may have given rise to doubts in Europe as to his political acumen, but despite President Carter's prompt and credible disclaimer it will continue to have an effect.

The West's defence debate, which has been neglected for ages, has been given a shot in the arm.

Kurt Becker

(Die Zeit, 12 August 1977)

IN THIS ISSUE



Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher with Mr Roelof Frederik Botha in Frankfurt (Photo: dpa)

Genscher meets Botha for talks on southern Africa



The situation in southern Africa was the key topic discussed by Bonn's Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his South African colleague Roelof Frederik Botha when they met last weekend for talks at the Airport Hotel in Frankfurt.

Mr Botha had interrupted his return trip from London where he had had talks with the British Foreign Secretary Mr David Owen and US State Secretary Cyrus Vance, to meet Herr Genscher.

Bonn's Foreign Minister used this opportunity to spell out clearly to Mr Botha this country's stand on the situation in Rhodesia, Namibia (south-west Africa) and South Africa.

Observers said later that the two-hour meeting had been marked by a great deal of frankness, in other words, both Ministers pulled no punches in expressing the views of their respective countries.

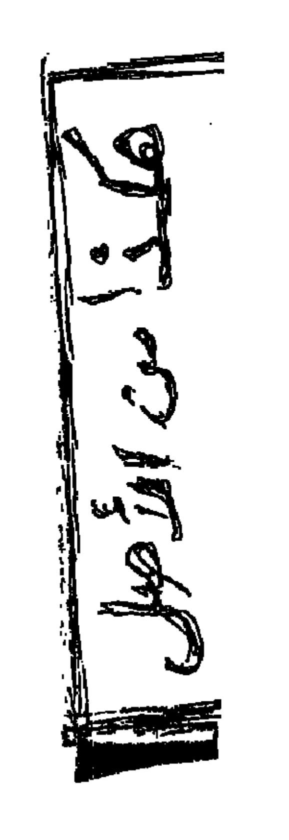
And according to the Foreign Ministry in Bonn, this frank exchange of ideas with South Africa is essential.

As far as south-west Africa was concerned, Herr Genscher told Mr Botha, Pretoria should set in train a fast and frictionless transfer of power in the territory to the black majority.

Mr Botha in turn assured Herr Genscher that his government was equally interested in achieving a speedy and reasonable settlement. One difficulty would be the withdrawal of South African troops.

Herr Genscher also called on South Africa to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

(Die Welt, 15 August 1977)



■ INTRA-GERMAN RELATIONS

Honecker would like to meet Schmidt in East Berlin

Were the decision Erich Honecker's to take, the intra-German talks, which have been on ice for the past year, would be resumed with a spectacular encounter between himself and Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt as a starter.

GDR State Council chairman and Socialist Unity Party (SED) leader Honecker has been keen on the idea of an intra-German summit for some time, even going so far as to sound out the prospects in Bonn.

Erich Honecker and Helmut Schmidt first (and, so far, last) met on 1 August 1975 during the Helsinki conference. The two leaders had no time to do more than strike up an acquaintanceship, exchanging pleasantries rather than conferring.

Herr Honecker, who has the social climber's mania for prestige, was most dissatisfied with the Helsinki meeting. He felt he had been treated as a peripheral figure, and thus below face-value, by Herr Schmidt.

What the GDR leader wants is something out of the ordinary, such as a rendezvous with the Bonn Chancellor. He would dearly like to turn over a new leaf in East Berlin policy on the German Question — a new leaf associated with himself.

Erich Honecker is still pursuing intra-German policies framed by his predecessor and erstwhile mentor Walter Ulbricht, with a little help from Willy Brandt, who paved the way for change as head of the first Social and Free Democratic coalition in Bonn in October 1969.

In his 1969 government policy statement Chancellor Brandt acknowledged the existence of two German States, which lead to a dialogue culminating in the encounters between Willy Brandt and GDR Willi Stoph in the spring of 1970.

At that juncture Erich Honecker was one of a number of GDR leaders who were opposed to the policy line laid down by Walter Ulbricht.

Herr Ulbricht was keen to demonstrate flexibility in view of the negotiations between Bonn on the one hand and Moscow and Warsaw on the other.

Herr Honecker and his associates insisted that Bonn must accord the GDR full recognition under international law before ties of any kind were established.

Erich Honecker did not abandon this demand until Walter Ulbricht and his less intransigent approach had been given the seal of Kremlin approval.

Herr Honecker's hard line on ties with Bonn was due mainly to fear of what was termed social democratism and of hopes that Bonn, with Social Democrats firmly in the saddle, and East Berlin, once it had embarked on a process of democratisation, might lay the groundwork for German reunification.

The virus of social democratism is still endemic, both among the general public in the GDR and in the ranks of the SED itself, and now he has taken over the reins of power in East Berlin Erich Honecker remains convinced that it is as dangerous as ever.

Unrest in the GDR, particularly dissent among intellectuals after the expulsion of writer Wolf Biermann, has certainly proved the point as far as Herr Honecker is concerned.

The GDR leader is determined to ensure that rebellion is put down among the intelligentsia, who will either kowtow, succumb to resignation or pack their bags as a result.

Erich Honecker regards artists and writers as particularly important models of conduct and is in no way averse to resorting to repression as a deterrent and a means of dissuading others from following in dissidents' footsteps.

Herr Honecker's political programme basically amount to stepping up demarcation at home and abroad, a process he envisages as preparation for full international recognition of the GDR, which this country refuses to grant.

The GDR leader realises full well that he cannot achieve this objective at one fell swoop, although he is trying to get recognition of GDR citizenship and the demarcation between the two Germanies as an international frontier high on the agenda of the intra-German summit for which Bonn's Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski and East Berlin's Michael Kohl, the GDR's man in Bonn, are to pave the way.

If need be, however, Herr Honecker is willing to proceed in a more roundabout way. He feels his hopes are encouraged by comments such as the view voiced by Günter Gaus, Bonn's man in East Berlin, that this country may well have to modify its approach to these two key issues because the Federal government's viewpoint will not prove tenable in the long run.

Erich Honecker concludes that Herr Gaus will hardly have been expressing a personal view and that much can be accomplished off the beaten track of official pronouncements from Bonn.

This inference is borne out further, as the GDR leader sees it, by the unofficial contacts that have been established with him. Today's ties are tomorrow's treaties, he blandly assumes.

True enough, Chancellor Schmidt has written to Chairman Erich Honecker relaying a missive intended to start the intra-German ball rolling not via Günter Gaus, but via Wolfgang Vogel, the GDR lawyer.

Bonn's man in East Berlin does not even know what Helmut Schmidt wrote, so the SED leadership can hardly be blamed for fancying that Bonn is happy to negotiate behind the scenes.

In bypassing official channels Helmut Schmidt has acted on the advice of Herbert Wehner, Social Democratic leader in the Bonn Bundestag.

Unfortunately, in so doing he has succumbed to an old failing of the Social Democrats, their mistrust of bureaucracy. The SPD has always felt that if it wants to do a job properly it will have to do it itself.

The loyalty of civil servants is doubted *a priori*, so they are left in the dark on purpose and, to cap it all, the Social Democrats then express surprise that the mandarins fail to deliver the goods.

Erich Honecker has yet to respond to the Chancellor's letter, but it was definitely on the agenda of his foreign policy review with President Brezhnev in the Crimea.

Herr Honecker will have told Mr Brezhnev that he would very much like to meet Herr Schmidt, and if the Soviet leader gives him the go-ahead an official invitation penned by the SED leader would land the ball firmly back in the Chancellor's court.

This would certainly put Helmut Schmidt in a spot, since the GDR leader is keen to invite the Chancellor to confer with him in East Berlin, which in GDR parlance is almost invariably referred to as the GDR capital.

Regardless of the outcome of the talks and the irksome possibility of scenes such as the standing ovation Willy Brandt was given by the people of Erfurt in 1970, an intra-German summit in East Berlin is clearly a tempting prospect for Herr Honecker.

The GDR leader would obviously leave no stone unturned in trying to make out that the visit was tantamount to full recognition of the GDR as a foreign country by Bonn.

In return he would no doubt be prepared to meet the Federal government and West Berlin Senate half-way on the eighteen-point agenda for a wider range of intra-German talks. *Jürgen Engert*

(Deutsche Zeitung, 12 August 1977)

Stobbe urges caution over Bonn's claims in West Berlin

Dietrich Stobbe, the new mayor of West Berlin, must, if he is to prove a success, do more than give the city good government and hold together his party, the Social Democrats.

He must also try to ensure that the divided city does not repeatedly resume its old role as a bone of contention between East and West despite the many agreements that have been concluded on Berlin.

In the aftermath of the 1971 Four-Power Agreement it did indeed look as though peace and quiet had at last descended, but of late the prospects have seemed steadily less promising.

The Soviet Union and the three Western Powers may not have *agreed on the* exact status of the divided city, but they nonetheless reached a compromise.

West Berlin was to retain its ties with the Federal Republic of Germany, to develop them even, but the Federal government continues to be denied certain rights because all Four Powers agree that

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There must be no let-up in negotiations

Sixteen years have now elapsed since GDR leaders, panic-stricken by the prospect of a mass exodus, started to build the Berlin Wall, an edifice Wolfgang Mischnick, Free Democrat leader in the Bonn Bundestag, once aptly dubbed petrified inhumanity.

The anniversary is yet another reminder to spare a thought for the divided city and the tribute the Wall has exacted in terms of human life. How is this disgraceful piece of architecture to be demolished or, failing that, how might its repercussions be further alleviated?

There is no point in reiterating the events leading up to the building of the Wall and the many unsatisfactory aspects of what went on in August 1961.

Experience has shown that nothing is to be gained by using it as a Wailing Wall, again to quote Wolfgang Mischnick. Which is not, of course, to say that its inhumanity and that of the men who ordered it to be built should be played down.

It behoves us on humanitarian grounds to uphold the sense of injustice with which the Berlin Wall must inevitably be associated.

Human interest indeed calls for more — for a continuation, a tough and patient intensification of the negotiations as a result of which the division of Germany has been rendered at least slightly more tolerable.

It is gratifying to note that the Christian Democrats do not propose to limit the terms of reference of the hearing they propose to hold in September to an all-out condemnation of human rights violations in the GDR in particular and the East bloc as a whole.

The Bonn Opposition is now in favour of negotiations with the GDR and of standing by *Ostpolitik* treaty obligations as advocated by Christian Democrat Bundestag deputies Olaf von Wrangel and Alois Mertes.

Wrangel's graduated approach would nonetheless be inconceivable without the 1974 Basic Treaty between Bonn and East Berlin which the Christian Democrats so vehemently opposed at the time.

It would, moreover, convey a more realistic impression if it were arranged in reverse order. East Berlin is not, when all is said and done, prepared to even contemplate negotiations on the subject of either the order to border guards to open fire on would-be refugees or the form its border installations are to take.

Many, many human easements will need negotiating before, at some doubtless distant date, a stage is reached in which the GDR feels able to dispense with the precaution of keeping its population behind bars.

The resumption of intra-German talks might conceivably hasten this development. *Karl-Ludwig Kelber*

(Kieler Nachrichten, 12 August 1977)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Schmidt holds top-level economic talks

It looks as though there is going to be some action on the economic front soon. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt invited not only Hans Friderichs, Hans Apel and Herbert Ehrenberg, the Ministers of Economic Affairs, Finance and Labour respectively, to the sudden and surprising conference in the Visitors' House of the Hamburg Senate last week.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was also there, and his presence makes it clear that it was a coalition discussion in which the whole direction of government economic policy was the subject.

The reason for the meeting was figures issued by the Federal Economics Ministry on the economic outblook. These figures had alarmed the pensions and unemployment insurances.

The total number of unemployed in July was 972,624. It is now clear that the target of five per cent economic growth set in January will not be reached this year. Four per cent is the most that can be hoped for.

These two facts combined made the Chancellor wonder whether he could keep up his economic "strong nerves" strategy. This strategy was based on he healing power of reductions in spending with the aim of reducing the weight of debt in the public sector.

It relied on companies' taking advantage of lower interest rates to build new factories, buy new machines and introduce new methods of production.

This economic policy of "holding out" was no longer viable. In a democracy the nervousness of the ruled is infectious and soon begins to affect the rulers, especially when so many dismal predictions are circulating.

The Chancellor has been overwhelmed with economic advice from the business associations and the unions.

Those who analysed the situation cooly and critically — such as the economics experts' council and the economic insititues — knew that there were no ready-made recipes, but that something had to be done.

The number of possibilities for the Hamburg discussion group was limited. The government is in no position to force the unions to be more modest in their wage demands, which would in turn lead to more private investment.

All it can do is stimulate investment by reducing the risks of buying new plant and factories. The State can take on some of the risk by allowing the investor to postpone payment of tax until a later date, when profits start flowing in from his new purchases.

The government could get such a measure through parliament by means of a legal decree and without excessive parliamentary discussion, so that it could take effect on 1 January 1978.

The net income of the population could be slightly increased without increasing companies' costs if the government used the stability law provision which enables it to reduce income tax by up to ten per cent for a year.

Nobody should expect miracles from either of these two measures, which were considered in the Hamburg discussions. But at least they would not do any harm. *Rudolf Herlt*

(Die Zeit, 12 August 1977)

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West Berlin is not, strictly speaking, an integral part of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Since the proscribed activities are catalogued, the inference must surely be that what is not expressly prohibited is permissible.

The Soviet Union, however, and its allies, especially the GDR, tend to feel that what is not expressly permitted is prohibited.

They not only try to prevent the development of ties, but also to reduce such ties as already exist, even going so far as to lodge a protest against the holding in West Berlin of the annual conference of the Association of German Chimneysweeps.

Mayor Stobbe has noted this alarming trend in an article in *Europa-Archiv*, wondering what can be done about it. He has no sure-fire solution and even points out that there are two sides to every issue.

"On our side," he writes, "verbal debate occasionally conveys the impression that the limitations on ties between West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany imposed by the United States, Britain and France in previous treaties and reaffirmed by all Four Powers in the 1971 agreement are not taken seriously."

In other words, impartial consideration must be given in each and every instance to whether Federal government agencies ought to be established in Berlin. If Berlin is a suitable location, all well and good. But it does not have to be Berlin merely because the legal opportunity arises.

As in human rights, a good right can be rendered bad by being overused and misused as a political stick with which to beat the other side.

Dietrich Stobbe's counsels of caution will not make him only friends, but he is nonetheless heading in the right direction if he wants to ensure that the divided city negotiates the Scylla and Charybdis of claims and realities.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 August 1977)

Bonn plans cuts in income tax

The federal government apparently intends to reduce income tax, for a limited period at least. This is good news, for two reasons. Firstly, the taxpayer is happy, because he has to pay less. Secondly, the move could give the economy the boost it needs.

Up to now, Bonn governments have always reserved their tax gifts and outbursts of generosity for election years. When Hans Apel, the Finance Minister, recently spoke of a tax cut in 1980, one could not help suspecting that this was meant to win a little bit of the electorate's favour.

In the case of the special reduction in tax which is apparently being planned at the moment, we do not need to suspect such motives. Admittedly, there will be important elections in some states next year, but even apart from this, the Bonn government would have sufficient reason to take decisive steps to improve the economic stituation.

The recent increase in unemployment figures was not on its programme for this summer.

But it is too early to judge the government's proposed measures at the moment. It will make its decisions at the end of August and it remains to be seen what they will look like in detail.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 August 1977)

New measures to combat terrorism

For some time now, the federal government and the states have been considering ways of combating terrorism more effectively by means of improved co-operation. Last week they took an important step in this direction.

The Interior Ministers of the Bonn government and the states have unanimously agreed on measures to put an end to politically motivated violent crime. The central point of the discussion was the agreement to intensify co-operation between federal and state security services.

This would be essential if such "breakdowns" (in the words of government spokesman Grunewald) as the Hesse state CID's delay in informing the federal office about the murder of banker Jürgen Ponto were to be avoided in future.

The measures which have now been passed by the Interior Ministers are based on suggestions made by the Interior Ministers' working party on police and Verfassungsschutz (Office for the Protection of the Constitution). They were worked out at a special meeting on 20 June. The ministries were not prepared to give details of the plan.

It is known that the working parties have suggested new methods of police searches and new intensified methods of observation by federal and state security services and the federal CID.

The working parties' suggestions are a reminder that the decisions made at the Interior Ministers' conference on the II April 1975 must be strictly adhered to. It was then agreed that the federal CID should collect and evaluate all material on terrorism, direct and work out plans of operation to combat terrorists.

The state CIDs have now been called upon to pass on all the information they have gathered to the federal office.

Rüdiger Moniac

(Die Welt, 6 August 1977)

Parties uncertain over future atomic energy needs

The debate on atomic energy is characterised by contradictory statements and government forecasts which are revised from one year to the next. The discussion on atomic energy is really hotting up now as the SPD and FDP party conferences in November draw near.

The position of the Bonn politicians who are responsible for atomic energy is invidious, thanks mainly to these contradictory forecasts. This is true for Research Minister Hans Matthöfer as well as for his FDP colleague Hans Friderichs, who is strongly in favour of atomic energy.

In September 1973 the government passed its first comprehensive energy programme. Atomic energy played a relatively modest part in the first forecasts.

A total of 40,000 megawatt by 1985 was the target. Then came the energy crisis of the same year, caused by the Arab oil countries cutting supplies and trying to put on political pressure by raising prices.

The first "continuation" of the government energy programme in 1974 had to take this new situation into account. Bonn now reckoned that more electricity would have to be supplied by atomic energy.

By 1985, almost a half (45 per cent) of electricity would have to come from atomic power stations. To achieve this, 45,000 megawatt or "ideally" 50,000 megawatt would be needed. These figures, too, were later to be revised, this time downwards.

In March of this year, the government produced new estimates for its revised energy programme. In the meantime there had been an economic recession.

The reduction in economic growth had led to a reduction in energy requirements. These forecast now was that 30,000 megawatt from atomic energy by 1985 would be enough. This would mean about eight atomic power stations less.

And then there were the powerful citizens' action campaigns against atomic energy. The parties felt that they were being by-passed by these activities.

Just before the SPD energy congress in Cologne at the end of April of this year, Hans Matthöfer suddenly discovered that 15,000 to 20,000 megawatts of atomic energy would ensure that the lights did not go out all over Germany.

Things are no different in the other parties. Economic Affairs Minister Hans Friderichs reckons with a dangerous gap in the energy supply which will endanger the German economy and put jobs in jeopardy by the mid-eighties.

Lower Saxony's Minister of Science Eduard Pestel (CDU) says that there will not be an energy gap until the year 2000. One does not know who to believe.

Herr Matthöfer tries in his own way to reassure citizens torn between fear of atomic radiation and economic fears. Even if there were a ban on the building of atomic power stations, the lights would not go out after 1985.

The worst that could happen would be measures to save electricity, drastic increases in electricity prices for private consumers (around 20 per cent) and perhaps a special tax on colour television sets, "which use twice as much electricity as black and white ones."

Fears about atomic energy are in a large part due to concern about the disposal of atomic waste. The party conference decisions to stop building atomic power stations which Herr Matthöfer anticipates will be taken mainly because of doubts and concern on this aspect of the problem.

The FDP main federal committee decided several weeks ago that building permission for atomic power stations should be refused until permission had been granted for the first stage of building for an atomic waste re-processing plant. This will probably take another three years. *Siegfried Michel*

(Nordwest Zeitung, 10 August 1977)

■ POLITICS

A bright first 100 days for Berlin's Mayor Dietrich Stobbe



We had incredibly good luck too." This is how those close to Dietrich Stobbe, new mayor of West Berlin, explain the continuing euphoria in Schöneberg town hall 100 days after the new man took up office.

Insiders can only ascribe this "honeymoon" to an unusually high degree of political good fortune.

Thirty-nine-year old Stobbe has not once come in for serious newspaper criticism since taking up office — and that is saying something in the Springer town which is by no means well-disposed to the social-liberal coalition.

Not a single opposition attack has come anywhere near the target. (Stobbe describes them as "boring.") And in his survey of the first 100 days the new mayor even went so far as to say that his position "was getting to be more and more fun." That is confidence.

Certainly, luck played quite an important part in the first stage of what Egon Bahr called a "new beginning." Stobbe's predecessor Klaus Schütz left the centres of political decision making in such a sorry state of almost suicidal depression that things could not possibly get any worse and his successor was in a way bound to be greeted as a saviour.

In the first half year of his office, there were a number of events which were of considerable importance for the attractiveness and self-esteem of the town: the Evangelical Church conference, the 15th European exhibition of art, the international radio exhibition and the festival with its full programme. What other German town could have given its mayor an even remotely comparable accompaniment to his first 100 days of office?

But luck and fun alone cannot form the basis of a period in office which, in view of Stobbe's comparative youth, is intended to be a long one. The stress on strong leadership compared to the laxness of past years cannot be an adequate explanation either.

Stobbe declared in his inaugural speech that "we are determined to govern more and to do a better job of administration." Stobbe has flung himself wholeheartedly into his task, and has shown considerable acumen, judgement and commitment.

He is obviously trying, and in some measure succeeding, to live up to his promises. If he goes on as he has started we will no doubt continue to read headlines and comments such as these in West Berlin papers for some time now: Stobbe "puts pep into Berlin"; Dietrich Stobbe, "the man who is now at the helm, is a man who believes in efficiency. He came out of the starting blocks so fast that he has got a comfortable lead on the rest of the field."

Everyone we spoke to at Schöneberg town hall confirmed the accuracy of these remarks. The only trouble is: they date from 27 October 1967, refer to Klaus Schütz and make one doubt whether Dietrich Stobbe's laurels are going to stay fresh any longer than his predecessor's.

The West Berlin "Abend" did write this about Klaus Schütz on that 27 October: "The new mayor is riding the crest of the wave at the moment, but there will be troughs, too, in the future."

How quickly the slum came. Half a year later, Golo Mann suggested Schütz should stand down and let writer Günter Grass take his place.

Stobbe, too, is a sceptical and realistic man despite his public optimism and he knows perfectly well that he is going to come down to earth with the Senate in the near future. His new ideas and proposals, which have been following one another at breathtaking pace up to now, will inevitably dry up some time.

And then we will see what Stobbe has got in reserve and things will start getting exciting. When, in about a hundred days time, we analyse the main priority areas for Seante until the next election, there will be at least two important areas where great successes are not likely to be achieved.

One is foreign policy, which is crucial for every mayor in the Western part of this city, even though the Senate itself has little direct influence here.

Speaking to the Aspen Institute in June, Stobbe said: "In the new few years we will have to continue and extend our co-operation with the East and try to break down some of the barriers of mistrust between us.

"Berlin has, in all modesty, a vital role to play in this process. This will not, of course, change power structures, but it will lessen the effect of these structures on people. There are certainly alternatives to the present policy of detente, but there are no sensible alternatives."



Berlin's Mayor Dietrich Stobbe with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt (Photo: Sven Simon)

The second area is the economy. Since 1970 the number of jobs has decreased by 27 per cent, despite considerable efforts to prevent this. Even those in control of the economic administration, which is in FDP hands, are more and more prepared to contemplate new measures in this sphere.

Stobbe's third aim, on the communal level, is to establish a balance between the inner-city working class areas and the privileged outer suburbs of "green Berlin." In the short term, there is not much glory to be gained in this.

Whatever one's reservations may be about the pink clouds hanging over Schöneberg town hall, there are signs that this Senate, with Dietrich Stobbe at its head, could still win the struggle for the majority in the next election in a year and a half's time — despite its almost hopeless starting position. The new men in the governing team are proving their worth every day.

Peter Glotz (Science and Research), Dieter Sauberzweig (Cultural Affairs) and Olaf Friedrich Sund (Labour and Social Ministry) have brought their expertise and dynamism to the task and are, according to Housing Minister Harry Rostock, "a joy to work with" at Senate meetings.

They bring with them that contact with the outside world which dispels the air of timidity and lack of initiative which hung over the town until recently.

The "open secret" of Stobbe's meteoric rise is that he is convinced of the city's present and historic importance and stresses it when trying to overcome defeatism, malaise and carping within his own ranks. He wants to encourage and spur people on.

At the beginning of he week he publicly criticised the administration for not stimulating enough interest and provid-

Continued on page 6

SPD critic Steffen is thinking of leaving the party

He never held high executive office and so he never learnt the art of opportunism." This is the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung's" comment on Jochen Steffen.

Steffen's reply: "People do not know how much opportunism it takes to remain in the SPD as a left-winger." But he may not remain in the party for much longer.

Steffen, who has been a Social Democrat since 1945 and is a member of the federal party executive is seriously considering leaving the party if it does not change its employment policies radically.

The alternative for him would be the FDP: "I know it is a party which basically upholds privileges, but it still stands for liberal freedoms."

In the magazine "das da" of which he is a co-editor, Steffen wrote "Conjectures about Uncle Herbert". It was widely taken as invective against Herbert Wehner, and since writing it "red Jochen" himself has been subjected to a lot of abuse.

His party colleague Conrad Ahlers wrote that he was very sick and had to be dealt with considerately — a remark which Steffen described as "a particularly perfidious form of repressive tolerance."

Ahlers added that Steffen had been drifting irresistibly towards the left. Steffen sees things differently: it is not he who is drifting left, it is the SPD drifting right.

In fact Steffen is, unlike many others, totally consistent and true to himself. He is a self confessed marxist, but a violent opponent of "GDR socialism", a re-



Jochen Steffen (Photo: Sven Simon)

formist in a party which is suspicious of the least reform, a man who mobilises, but also polarises opinion within his party and outside it.

Steffen led the Schleswig Holstein SPD for nearly ten years up to 1975. During this time, he made no secret of the fact that his was a socialist party.

Schleswig-Holstein has been ruled by the CDU for 27 years and in 1971 his former fellow student Stoltenberg won the absolute majority for the CDU. However, the SPD still got 41 per cent.

Not so long ago, Steffen expressed the opinion that the SPD was better off in Opposition. He has now changed his mind. "Basically it does not matter one way or the other which way the Social Democrats fail to provide an alternative."

Writing of Wehner, Steffen says that he "always worked off his frustrations in the political struggle in a cynically aggressive, insultingly scornful or dirty and vulgar manner."

There is a sense in which the same is true of Steffen himself. Steffen is by no means a patient comrade in committees and he has expressed his bitter resentment at the fact that "the SPD is a party which explains the necessity of capitalism to the workers," and that the Chancellor believes "in an elite which makes politics for the masses."

If Steffen resigns his seat in the state parliament and does not stand for election to the federal party executive, this will not mean he will have no political authority in future.

He will go on working out this thoughts on the "democratisation of democracy" and for the left he will remain what he always has been: an alternative in an SPD which is no longer the lesser evil.

G. Marie Schönfeld
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 7 August 1977)

■ THE CONSTITUTION

State need not give Communist teacher civil service status



The Hesse administrative court has now ruled, after an appeal, that the state of Hesse is not obliged to give Silvia Gingold a permanent pensionable position as a teacher, carrying the status of a civil servant.

The reason: Silvia Gingold is a member of the DKP (German Communist Party) which is "hostile to the constitution".

At the same time the court allowed a complaint by the Bundesbahn (Federal Railways), who had refused to give Werner Krone a permanent position in its construction department on the grounds that he was a member of the DKP.

Leave to appeal to the Federal Constitutional Court was refused in both cases. In Frankfurt the defence counsel announced that they would put in a complaint against not being given leave to appeal.

They described the judgements against their clients as a blatant disregard of the basic right of professional freedom which is guaranteed in the Basic Law and a disregard of the "party privilege" (i.e. the ruling that only the Federal Constitutional Court and no other can declare a party "hostile to the constitution.")

The Hesse administrative court reversed the previous decision calling upon Education Minister Krollmann (SPD) to reconsider his refusal to to give Silvia Gingold a permanent post in view of her qualifications.

The Bundesbahn had also been obliged, according to the first ruling, to give Werner Krone a permanent post as an official.

The reasons for the new ruling in Krone's case have not been made public. In the case of Gingold the entire text of the reasons for the decision has been published.

One of the main reasons for the Hesse administrative court's ruling is the DKP's "hostility to the constitution." The party presents conditions in the Soviet Union and the GDR as exemplary. Its goal is to realise the state and social system of the GDR in the Federal Republic of Germany.

"The DKP and the KPD both acknowledge the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The DKP avoids in its programmatic statements any positive reference to political freedoms, division of power, governmental responsibility and the independence of the judiciary. In a socialist system such as the DKP desires these basic principles of a free and democratic society would have no validity.

"Even if the DKP wants to achieve its political aims in the Federal Republic of Germany by democratic means, it has not finally renounced the possibility of a revolutionary change. In this respect it is no different from the DKP which was prohibited in a judgement of the Federal Constitutional Court," the verdict states.

In 1975 the Federal Constitutional Court stressed that each individual case should be examined and that membership of the DKP alone did not constitute sufficient grounds for excluding a candidate from state service.

The Kassel judges have tried to observe this principle by pointing out that Silvia Gingold was not just a DKP member. She also stood as a DKP candidate in the national elections and was particularly active in representing the interests of the DKP.

This proved that she enjoyed "a position of special trust" within her party. Silvia Gingold's counsel described this passage in the judgement as "an unparalleled disregard of the right to be elected."

The administrative court also delves into her youth in its efforts to underpin its judgement. The Court ruled that information gathered by the Verfassungsschutz (Office for the Pro-



Silvia Gingold (Photo: dpa)

tection of the Constitution) could not be used in deciding whether an applicant could be appointed.

The Kassel judges claim that this ruling is only valid for the preparatory service, whereas Silvia Gingold wanted to be appointed to a permanent post as an official. Furthermore, her activities since 1968 could not be regarded as "youthful follies."

The defence argued that Silvia Gingold's parents were in the anti-Nazi resistance movement, some of her relatives were gassed in Auschwitz. She has had an anti-fascist upbringing which led almost automatically to membership of the DKP.

The court said that Silvia Gingold's reasons for joining the DKP were irrelevant. It was also irrelevant that her work was exemplary and that she had so far made no attempts to indoctrinate her pupils (she is working as an 'Angestellte' salaried employee-teacher.)

The Hesse Minister of Education Krollmann said that she would continue to be employed in the school service as a salaried employee. The court had only ruled on the question of whether she was entitled to a permanent state post as on official.

Herr Krollmann added that the court had not made any new ruling on whether one could demand the same degree of loyalty from salaried employees as from teachers with civil service status.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 August 1977)

Loyalty to State not restricted to work, court rules

The duty to defend the free and democratic basic order of the Federal Republic of Germany is indivisible. It does not apply only at the place of work.

The case was as follows: the university of Hamburg wanted to give a leading official of the Hamburg DKP Comunist Party) a teaching post. The town of Hamburg, which is responsible for the university and the employer of all university personnel, refused to confirm the appointment. Litigation then followed.

The supreme administrative court of Hamburg ruled in favour of the town council and the Federal administrative court has now upheld its decision. This ruling is final.

The teacher in question has been a permanent state official since 1970. The ruling raises the question whether he should be removed from this position on the basis that there are justifiable doubts about his loyalty to the constitution.

The judgement reads as follows: "In the opinion of the Federal administrative court the school teacher performs a task which is of great political importance. The Senate sees no reason to consider the position of university teacher of less significance in this context."

It adds: "According to rulings of the Federal Constitutional Court and the Federal Administrative Court, the guarantee of freedom of teaching considerable independence in the pursuit of their profession, more independence than in general regulations for state officials.

"But their general status as officials remains unaffected by article 5, para. 3, section I of the Basic Law. The right of academic freedom does not free the university teacher from his duty to be loyal to the constitution."

The Federal administrative court stresses in its judgement that the state official's "duty to be loyal" is in no way limited, not even in the area of university teaching.

This means that candidates for state posts, holders of state posts (Beamte) and those in equivalent positions must uphold "at the very least" the basic values which, according to article 70, of the Basic Law, cannot be changed.

These are, according to the Federal administrative court's list: respect for the basic human rights set out in the Basic Law; national sovereignty; division of power; government responsibility; the legality of the administration; the independence of the courts; the party system; equality of opportunity for all political parties and the right to opposition.

This is the third Federal administrative court judgement on the employment of extremists in the public service (Az.: VII C 17. 74.) The Berlin court last ruled on the question in February 1975.

(Die Welt, 11 August 1977)

Hamburg lays down loyalty guidelines

After three years of argument in the social-liberal government and fourteen months of tough negotiations, the Hamburg Senate has now laid down new guidelines for "the procedure for determining loyalty to the constitution."

This means that for the first time since the radicals' decree was introduced six years ago, procedures have been devised which, in the Senate's opinion, guarantee "a maximum of legality and fairness."

The main staff council, which represents Hamburg's 100,000 employees and the various unions to which they belong, put the finishing touches to the guidelines.

In March it made use of its vote of co-determination in administrative procedural matters and rejected the Senate's first draft.

The negotiations which followed on this were at times tough, but always to the point and in them both sides managed to eliminate some of the vaguer formulations of the original draft and replace them with precise regulations.

Dieter Heering of the Nordmark branch of the DGB (Trade Unions' Confederation) observed that "we have found an exemplary procedure."

As has been the practice up to now, all candidates for positions in the state service or for the office of judge will have their loyalty to the constitution examined.

In the case of public service employees and workers, there will only be a investigation procedure if their work "involves important matters of state." The criteria for determining what important matters of state are will be quite clear and strict.

The Senate also stipulates in what areas investigations of workers and employees should take place. A list has not yet been worked out, but in the Senatorial office for the Administrative Service, the "employers" of all the city-state's civil servants, they assume that every candidate for the police and legal service and for school and social service, tax authorities and fire brigade will be investigated.

Only "evidence which would be valid in a court of law" can be used against candidates in future.

In addition, only information which has already been acquired may be used. "Investigations and research by the authorities themselves are not allowed."

If the employing authority has no reservations about a candidate's loyalty to the constitution, the Verfassungsschutz (Office for the Protection of the Constitution) will no longer be informed.

If the Verfassungsschutz is brought in, it may still only provide facts which would be valid in a court of law. Furthermore, these facts must have been obtained "within the framework of the execution of its legal function."

This formulation is a reference to the draft law which is still being discussed in the SPD and FDP parliamentary parties. This law will, for the first time, put the Varfassungsschutz on a clearly defined legal footing this autumn.

The new guidelines will not dispel the controversy about the need for a radicals' decree or the evaluation of each individual case. But the procedure for investigating loyalty to the constitution has at least been given a form which conforms to the requirements of a State based on the rule of law.

Werhart Otto
(Vorwärts, 4 August 1977)

■ TRADE

African States look to Bonn to grasp the initiative in commodities talks

Following the debacle of the North-South talks in Paris stock has been taken in plentiful and productive discussion at the OAU summit in Libreville.

Consideration was given to ways and means of meeting the industrialised countries half-way so as to arrive at a working consensus on international economic affairs after all.

Particular attention has been paid to the important part this country has to play, and Foreign Minister Genscher has twice interrupted his summer holidays for stopover talks at Frankfurt airport with Foreign Minister Jean Keutcha of Cameroun and President Nyerere of Tanzania.

At the Unctad conference in Nairobi Bonn was rated a hard-liner, but nowadays this country's flexible attitude towards developing countries' demands is widely acknowledged.

African appreciates that Bonn's change of heart on the Common Fund proposal has come in for harsh criticism from industrial opinion in this country and thus goes about as far as the Bonn government can afford to go politically.

In return for greater flexibility on commodities, however, this country would like to come to terms on energy and investment safeguards.

Handelsblatt

President Bongo of Gabon, host to the OAU summit, would like to see this country grasp the initiative on the industrialised world's behalf in the North-South dialogue. So would political leaders in Zambia, Kenya and the Ivory Coast.

Africa would, indeed, like the dialogue to become a permanent institution, mediating as and when required, laying down limits, arranging settlements an generally forestalling crises.

In African eyes the United States has proved either unable or unwilling to take on this role.

African opinion has swung round in favour of institutionalising the North-South talks partly because the European Community, as it well realises, will, in the long term, remain Africa's major trading partner, with Bonn playing a leading role.

African leaders also recall the fair deal they were given by this country in the nogotiations leading up to the signing of the Lomé Convention between the EEC and an initial 46 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries.

Last but not least, Bonn provides developement aid without strings, which is more than can be said for a good many donor countries.

Last year African exports to this country comfortably exceeded imports. Exports were up 18.1 per cent to 16,900 million deutschmarks, while imports were up a mere 13.7 per cent to 14,100 million deutschmarks.

Bonn was thus in the red, as it were, to the tune of 2,800 million deutschmarks in 1976, as against 1,800 million the year before.

As a percentage of Bonn's overall foreign trade, however, business with Africa has declined marginally, as African observers have been quick to notice.

Exports to Africa last year accounted for 5.5 per cent of total exports, as against 5.6 per cent the year before, while the corresponding figures for imports were 7.6 an 7.8 per cent respectively.

Industrial opinion in this country attributes this slight decline to fighting in various parts of Africa. Imports from Angola were down 57.3 per cent, from Mozambique 58.8 per cent and Rhodesia 33.3 per cent.

There have been increases, too, of course, especially oil from Nigeria, Gabon and Libya an higher world market prices for a number of crops such as coffee, tea and cocoa.

In the case of certain agricultural imports there have been increases of several hundred per cent, as, for instance, in Kenya's case, but the quantities concerned remain insignificant in the overall context.

The major suppliers continue to be South Africa for ore, Libya, Algeria and Nigeria for petroleium and Ivory Coast for farm produce of all kinds.

On the export side South Africa remains this country's best customer in the continent, buying goods to the value of 3,149 million deutschmarks — an increase of 34.1 per cent on the year before.

Private investment in Africa has not developed as satisfactorily, industrial sources in this country concede. It may have been up 7.6 per cent last year, but this compares ill with the 1975 growth rate of 17.2 per cent, especially as investment in Africa accounts for a mere four per cent of overall private investment abroad.

There is further growth potential here, and Bonn spokesmen repeatedly point out that Bonn provides a number of incentives to invest in Africa; it is now up to Africans themselves to improve investment safeguards and efficiency.

Forecasts for the current year are most encouraging. In Nairobi sources from this country have on more than one occasion been reported as feeling that investment conditions are looking up all over Africa.

Stepping up the rate of investment, they argue, is the only way this country can help African economies in the long term, especially in the industrial sector.

But periodic protestations of goodwill are not enough to encourage investors, and neither are legal safeguards, which are not tied to be worth more than the paper on which they are printed.

What investors need is more substantial encouragement, such as capital transfer and permission to export profits, credit and tax concessions, regional planning for sales markets and, as far as possible, a free hand in hiring and firing.

Kenya's bid to surmount the Paris deadlock could well lead to improvements along thes lines, but Bonn will need to ensure, in the courses of its approaches to African governments, that this country does not come in for even heavier fire for its substantial trade with South Africa.

The Bonn government will need to argue that its policy on South Africa is governed not only by economic interest but also by peace policy and that *this* country can only play the part *that is* expected of it in helping to end the crisis in southern Africa by retaining its economic role.

Africans who are prepared to admit that these arguments carry a certain amount of conviction note, however, that Bonn should put to more determined use such influence as it owes to its economic ties with southern Africa.

(Handelsblatt, 2 August 1977)

Berlin's Mayor

Continued from page 4

ing enough publicity for the European art exhibition "Tendencies in the 20s".

After the success of the Staufer exhibition in Stuttgart, Stobbe has come up with the fascinating, but difficult to realise suggestion of setting up a Prussia exhibition in West Berlin.

There have been a number of petty objections to this from within his own ranks, but Stobbe explains that he "does not want to make a spiked helmet exhibition out of it."

The exhibition would be planned and run by an international council of high calibre and the "world's eyes would be on Berlin." It would not be a privincial, small-time project, he assured them.

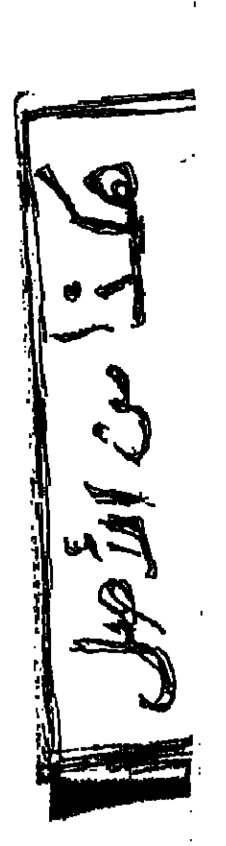
This seems to be a psychological harking back to the old capital city mentality. Stobbe is determined to do everything he possibly can to make Berlin a major European metropolis again if it is not one already.

His key-word is self-confidence, but there are others: openness, generosity, willingness to argue and discuss, patience in the face of political criticisms — virtues which all have yet to be put to the test.

But in the meantime the optimistic, get-up—and-go style of the new mayor is already beginning to have its effect. Some months ago, the Christian Democrats tried to gain power by continually calling for votes of no-confidence in Schütz. On the 100th day of office, the "Abend" headline was: "Peter Lorenz wants grand coalition with SPD in Berlin."

Otto Jörg Weiss

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 August 1977)



Faster rate of imports expected from East bloc

Industrial imports from East bloc countries are likely to increase at a faster rate over the next few years, according to the World Trade Institute, Kiel.

Imports of raw materials and foodstuffs will decline in significance, so that by 1980 more than half the industrial goods imported from East bloc countries will be consumer goods and capital investment.

The Kiel economists forecast swifter progress towards integration between this country and the East bloc than in the sixties.

Imports of industrial products from the East bloc are not, on the other hand, likely to increase as dramatically as similar imports from the developing countries have done since 1970.

Between 1975 and 1980 industrial imports from East bloc countries are anticipated as having increased at an average annual rate of twelve per cent, followed by average growth tates of 12.7 per cent over the following five years.

For purposes of comparison it may be noted that the corresponding increase in the first half of the seventies was a mere 7.6 per cent.

In the early seventies sales of investment goods from the East bloc increased in value by a mere two per cent per annum, but over the next few years the growth rate is expected to amount to twenty per cent, with similar increases in imports of consumer goods.

Growth rates will be lower for raw materials and foodstuffs, for which average annual increases of 7,1 and 5.9 per cent respectively are forecast for the second half ot he seventies.

Exports from this country are likely to derive indirect benefit from an increase in sales of East bloc industrial goods here.

In recent years East bloc countries have accumulated such high debts in this country that they tend to feel imports from the Federal Republic of Germany must not increase at a faster rate than exports to this country.

The East bloc resolved not to increase its indebtedness to this country, with the result that orders began to stagnate markedly last year.

The Kiel economists point out that East bloc countries have been increasingly successful since the early seventies in selling industrial products on the domestic market, even proving more competitive that others.

This success was due in part to free trade with the East bloc from the mid-sixties on. What is more, the East bloc's range of industrial goods coincided with demand potential in this country.

Comecon countries have proved particularly competitive in sectors involving standardised, mass production, especially labour-intensive industries.

Successes have also been achieved in capital-intensive industries, such as wood finishing, cellulose, paper and card, saw mills and oil refineries, earth and stone, foodstuffs and non-ferrous metals.

Roughly half industrial trade between this country and the East bloc is in sectors in which there is a two-way traffic, such as textiles, metal processing, non-ferrous metals, earth and stone, ceramics and glassware.

This reciprocal trade is not as developed as with industrialised countries in the West, but it is more intensive than with the Third World.

Hans-Jürgen Mahnke

(Die Welt, 8 August 1977)

■ INDUSTRY

German building firms strike it rich with contracts abroad

Although there is a slump on the home building market, the major German building companies are still able to pay out juicy dividends to their shareholders. The reason: German building firms are increasingly moving into the foreign market.

The dividends shareholders receive are more often than not earned on foreign building sites — takings from work done in the Middle East, South America, or the Far East.

If you want to pinpoint precisely where these German firms are burrowing, you need a very detailed atlas. In the Sultanate of Oman, for example, Strabag is building a road from Sohar to Al Ain through difficult mountainous terrain. In Nigeria it is building the complete airport building and an almost 4 kilometre long runway at Murtala Muhammed airport near Lagos.

The Philip Holzmann AG recently built a fine mosque in Taif (Saudi Arabia). It is constructing a giant quay wall in Richards Bay harbour in South Africa and in Morzog in Libya it is working on an irrigation project.

There is also the enticing prospect of an extension for the university of Tripolis in Libya. And in Saudi Arabia, Holzmann have got an order to extend the harbour in Damman.

German workers are tunneling at Lok Fu station for the Hong Kong underground, constructing the new international airport at Jeddah in Saudi Arabia and building atomic power stations No. 1 and No. 2 near Bushehr in Iran.

It is difficult to pinpoint the exact moment when these German firms were all bitten by this bug. The trend certainly became more noticeable when oil became drastically dearer in 1973/1974.

The German economy began to sag visibly at the time. But at the same time the Central Bank saved many Germans from the dread of inflation by tightening money controls. This led to the collapse of the building market.

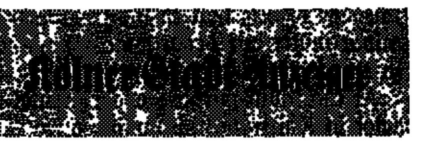
It was fortunate for the building firms that the Opec countries had money to burn at the time. And so the march abroad began, particularly in the direction of these Opec countries.

The figures are as follows: German firms got orders worth 1,300 million marks from abroad in 1972 and for 1,500 million marks in 1973. In 1974 and 1975 the figures had soared to 5,200 million and 7,300 million marks respectively.

Last year the number of orders from abroad for the building industry reached an all-time record of 12,000 million marks. By far the most important customers were Saudi Arabia, Nigeria and Iran, followed by Libya, Algeria and Oman.

These impressive figures for foreign orders should not make us forget the whole picture. The orders have certainly increased rapidly, but they still only represent 4 per cent of the total volume of the German building industry.

Clearly, though, these orders are important to the big building firms. The vast majority of these orders are carried out a few dozen German firms. Last year 70 out of a total of 3,000 German construction firms got orders from abroad. And of these 70, the giants were way in front of all the others.



If we look at the example of the Hochtief AG, we can see how much foreign orders mean to them.

At the end of 1976, a total of 65 per cent of all orders came from abroad. While the number of employees at home has been sinking steadily in the last few years, the number on the payroll abroad has risen dramatically — in 1976 alone it rose by two thirds.

Hochtief now has almost as many workers on foreign as on home sites. And among its competitors the picture is such the same.

These foreign orders are not really a solution to the critical situation on the employment front in the building trade. A good 90 per cent of the workers on the foreign sites are local men, as a rule Arabs. At the end of 1976 there were 90,000 native workers on German firms' building sites abroad as opposed to about 6,500 German workers.

Only the top people — from he engineer to the foreman — come from Germany. And such people are not easy to come by. It is not everyone's cup of tea to spend several years in these often unwelcoming areas — even if they can bring their families with them.

German firms do everything they possibly can to make life easier for their German workers and their families; from cosy little houses in well-kept camps to schools for the children.

"Wherever you go, whether it is to Bushehr, Abu Dhabi, Jeddah or the Sultanate of Oman, you will find German schools with German teachers paid by the firms. It is even quite likely that there will soon be German grammar schools "in the desert."

It is a mistake to assume that there are few risks involved in foreign business. In fact the risks are considerable.

The Bremen company of Treuhand, for instance, took on an order to build over 5,000 flats in Algeria for 400 million marks. The company had little knowledge of the market and made a considerable loss.

And the risks are becoming greater. One problem is staff. They have to be trained and then almost taught to work at the required pace. Dealings with authorities in the East are much more complicated and long drawn out than they are here, and one cannot always rely on decisions made.

Another risk is that the orders, which in some cases are worth billions of marks, are for periods of several years. A lot can happen in this time. For instance prices can rocket.

This is disastrous in view of the fact that these orders are in the currency of the country concerned. Only a few years ago, deutschmark contracts were the rule.

And as a rule, foreign business partners are not prepared to allow for these upward price adjustments. To compensate for this possibility, German companies insist on pre-payments as high as possible.

The orders are also insured through the Hermes company. They take on the political and the considerable economic risk in exchange for a percentage of profits.

It is difficult to say whether the boom in foreign business will last. Kurt Hecker, spokesman for the Holzmann board, does not belive that the Opec countries will go on building at the present rate.

There will be fewer building contracts to tender for because building budgets are being cut in the oil countires. Herr Hecker adds that "International competition, particularly from Asia, is hotting up all the time."

The Koreans, the Taiwanese, Japanese and the Indians are beginning to penetrate the market with their cheaper rates. It is a market that they still consider well worth operating in.

Peter Haas

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 6 August 1977)

Half of Germany's industrial plant is out-dated

About a half of German companies' industrial plant is obsolescent today. In 1960 it was only a third. "This is a worrying sign of increasing obsolescence" says Walter Mohr, president of the Bavarian Employers' Association.

Secretary of State Gruner of Bonn's Economics Ministry and the Union of German Machine Tool Factories (VDW) have expressed similar concern recently.

The Union of German Mechanical Institutes (VDMA) is critical of the fact that Germany lags behind Japan in this respect.

The question of whether and to what extent a modernisation of plant would mean an increase in the competitivity of German industry is still unresolved. The VDMA does not believe that German firms are committing "sins of omission." Firms that saw possibilities in a given market, were not slow to invest.

The spokesman of large firms make a similar point, observing that the structure change, the transition to completely new products, forces them to introduce new machinery.

In particularly important areas of production, the average life of tools and production machinery was getting shorter all the time. Forty three per cent of all Siemens products, for example, are not more than five years old, and so corresponding changes in machinery also have to be made.

The VDW's observation that Germany is on average four years behind in this area is still valid. It would cost double the annual production — over DM 13,000 million — to modernise plant and machinery and bring it up to the required standard in the metal-working industry.

But the age of the machinery is not the only problem: What about production flow? Is it optimal? What about buildings, transport, storage of materials and finished products, energy supply, telephone and telex networks, internal post, wastage, anti-pollution measures?

Organisation, sales departments and the internal information system are also areas of infrastructure which have to be looked at. This is where Walter Mohr (board member of Siemens AG) sees the chance for a "third way" of investing.

Industry has been very shy of investing in plant extensions for some time now. Rationalising investment alone cannot bring about an improvement in the general economic climate and ease the employment situation.

Now that the general level of business activity was low it was time to look at weak spots and sources of errors and get rid of stop-gaps which had become permanent.

Improvements in infrastructure would have to be made anticyclically, because in boom times there was neither time nor money.

Good, closely calculated prices, favourable financing opportunities and fast delivery dates would all make modernisation easier in times of recession.

In 1976 German industrial companies invested about DM36,000 million. If another 15 per cent of this could be used for improvements in firms' infrastructure, this would mean a yearly investment volume of more than 5,400 million marks or more than 20,000 million marks in four years. Together with the 16,000 million marks for public infrastructure improvements this would be a considerable impetus for the whole economy and for the labour market.

As many firms are not in a position to provide investment finance themselves, the state should step into the breach and help out, as it does in the case of the renovation of old buildings. Possible forms this state aid could take: premiums, higher write-off values, credits and tax-relief.

Walter Mohr's suggestions aim at improving the economic situation by means of improvements in company infrastructure, even though the German market is not a good sales market at the moment.

A better industrial infrastructure is also an end in itself, because Japan, Germany's strongest competitor after the USA, has an excellent standard in this field, as a VDMA spokesman stressed.

In Japan they were increasingly producing their own machine tools and were far less dependent on imports than they had been in previous years. This would lead to an increased export drive, the effects of which Europe would rapidly feel.

It is not so much Japan's modern industrial equipment that German industrial circles fear as state assistance and export aid. In many cases Japanese prices were higher at home than on export lists, but it was difficult to prove this except in a few individual cases.

Classical dumping as practised by European and American firms was easy to pinpoint, but in Japan industry, trading-houses, banks, insurances and sometimes even the state, formed a conglomerate.

In Japan the average age of management was considerably higher, decisions often took longer and it was not always clear who was responsible for what area.

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■ ENERGY

145 minor mishaps at nuclear power plants in 12 years, Bonn report notes

Many people wonder — as well they might — just how safe nuclear power stations in this country are. Thirteen of them with a combined installed capacity of 6,400 megawatts are already in operation.

Government energy plans provide for the inauguration of a further fifteen 1,200-megawatt power reactors by 1985, and even though this target is unlikely to be achieved, safety precautions assume increasing importance.

Whatever the pace of development, atomic energy is sure to play a larger part in our lives than in the past, and the risk of a nuclear mishap increases proportionately.

Large nuclear power stations use up to forty tons of enriched uranium as fuel. What is more, during fission all manner of radioactive matter is produced that would contaminate the atmosphere if the reactor were to spring a leak.

Reactor construction and design incorporate every conceivable precaution in order to ensure that nothing unforeseen can possibly happen and to ensure, in particular, that radioactive particles are not released into the atmosphere.

But no one can give a copper-bottomed guarantee that a mishap will never happen. Minor mishaps have, indeed, occurred at regular intervals in existing installations over the years.

The Bonn government's recently-published 450-page "atoms for peace" report notes no fewer than 145 incidents at nuclear power stations in this country between 1965 and last April.

They included damage to fuel elements and the cooling system, to reactor controls and measuring equipment, and accidents that have occurred during construction and maintenance.

There has yet to be an incident so serious that it can no longer be brought under control, not even the fatal accident at Grundremmingen nuclear power station on 19 November 1975.

What happened at Grundremmingen was that a mechanic who was replacing a valve forgot that the pipe was still under pressure and was killed by hot steam, which just happened to be slightly radioactive.

So the solitary fatality in the catalogue of nuclear mishaps at power stations in this country was not, strictly speaking, due to contamination and a radioactive leak.

Closer scrutiny of the catalogue indicates that project engineers and technologists have grown increasingly conversant with their subject over the years.



Incidents occur far less frequently than they used to do.

There have, for instance, been nearly 100 mishaps at experimental and pilot projects such as the nuclear power stations at Kahl and Karlsruhe, Grundremmingen, Obrigheim and Lingen.

Larger and more advanced installations have — in comparison — seldom been shut down for repairs.

What is more, hairline cracks developed in the welding seams of early fuel elements. Occasional minute leaks of fissile material resulted. The report lists nineteen such instances between 1965 and 1976.

These faults were not, as a rule, located until fuel elements were scheduled for replacement, but replacement solved the problem.

Defective fuel rods have yet to be observed at nuclear power stations built at a later date, so this particular lesson has evidently been learnt.

Improvements have been made in the materials used to manufacture fuel rod sheaths. What is more, welding techniques have also been improved, so that hairline rifts no longer occur as a rule.

Last but not least, welding seams are checked with particular care before the rods are taken into service.

At all events fuel elements now seem better able to withstand the relatively high pressure that accumulates within during operation. They are similarly impervious to high temperatures and neutron bombardment.

Another kind of mishap may also be rated a teething trouble or infantile disorder, although again, strictly speaking, it has nothing to do with nuclear technology.

Turbine damage, particularly at Gundremmingen on the Danube, has frequently laid nuclear power stations low. On at least three occasions a turbine blade has snapped and damaged other blades at Gundremmingen.

Repairs have proved far from easy and often necessitated shutting down the entire power station for weeks.

This damage occurred because the operating companies had opted for a wet steam turbine, a design that was popular in the twenties, but subsequently abandoned on account of technical hitches that were mainly associated with water processing.

Now that nuclear technology called for larger turbines operators reverted to the old technique even though a different turbine design has since grown customary at coal-fired power stations.

During a routine check at Würgassen nuclear power station on 10 February 1974 the turbine shaft was found to be so badly damaged that the power station was shut down for roughly a year for repairs.

This was a failure that should never have occurred in the first place, but, again, it belongs to the category of possibilities that never can be entirely precluded.

Further examination of the listed mishaps reveals that in the final analysis minor faults can occur almost anywhere in a nuclear power station.

At the multi-purpose experimental reactor in Karlsruhe the pumps once went on strike. At Obrigheim oscillation occurred in the heat shield, but suitable support was incorporated in the structure just before the reactor went critical.

At Lingen a number of control rods stuck on 4 May 1970. At Gundremmingen the wrong valve was opened at the end of August 1969, with the result that twenty tons of water escaped from the fuel rod basin into the overflow room.

The Gundremmingen mishaps was the result of human error. Fortunately it did not result in leakage of radioactivity.

Now and then, however, small quantities of radioactive particles have been released. In July 1973 a higher than permissible level of radioactive tritium was released into the atmosphere from the pebblebed reactor at Jülich.

A tritium adsorber was installed to ensure that safety levels were maintained.

At Obrigheim radioactive xenon was once pumped out with the effluent. This too was the result of a mistake, and precautions are now taken to ensure that it will never happen again.

Thus an analysis of mishaps at nuclear power stations in this country demonstrates that minor technical hitches can happen no matter how careful all concerned may be. But repercussions can be kept to within the reactor shell.

Precautions have certainly been taken to ensure that the reactor is automatically switched off as soon as the slightest irregularity is registered. So, as far as can humanly be foreseen, serious repercussions cannot occur.

Major mishaps that assume catastrophe proportions would appear, on the strength of operational experience so far, to be as improbable as a direct hit by a fully-laden jumbo jet on a full house at the Olympic stadium in Munich.

But human fallibility is a factor that must always be borne in mind. It has resulted not only in the sole fatality so far, but also in a number of other mishaps.

Nuclear power station engineers and technicians have yet to prevent them or ensure that the consequences are kept to a minimum, but in many cases safeguards definitely can be incorporated.

In July 1969, for instance, private individuals (they were not even power station staff) inadvertently contaminated their own homes after a visit to Gundremmingen. Care has since been taken to ensure that this surveillance lapse cannot occur again.

A number of mishaps have also occurred during construction or operational trials. At Neckarwestheim, for instance, insulation material was set alight in a blaze caused by sparks flying during welding. At Biblis cracks were found to have occurred in structural steel.

These, of course, are mishaps of the kind that can happen on any construction site, but when nuclear power stations are under construction special care is essential.

The repercussions of some small blaze or crack in some component or other may subsequently prejudice safety precautions for the nuclear power station as a whole.

So greater attention is now paid to incidents that occur in the course of construction, and in a number of cases design improvements and alterations to power stations under construction have been undertaken as a result.

Despite all precautions, then, mishaps can occur at nuclear power stations for a variety of reasons. Regrettable though this may be, it is most unlikely that a full-scale emergency would ever need to be declared.

The 450-page report testifies to experience over the past dozen or so years at thirteen nuclear power stations, some of which have been generating electric power for years without giving serious cause for alarm.

Even upsets that might conceivably lead to more extensive damage have been seen to present no trouble to a combination of effective safety precautions and experienced power station staff.

So far, for instance, neither power station staff nor members of the general public have come to harm as a result of an overdose of radiation.

So precautions have proved their worth, but we must not allow ourselves to be lulled into a false sense of security. Nuclear power stations must continue to be built and run with the utmost care.

Konrad Müller-Christiansen

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 August 1977)

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German firms say that "modern machines alone are not all that counts in business."

They consider that they would have excellent selling chances in the Japanese home market.

Eberhard von Kuenheim, head of BMW, recently paid the Japanese a back-handed compliment with which many German companies will agree: "The Japanese are past masters in the art of preventing car imports by all sorts of hidden obstacles."

Michael Spiesshofer

(Münchner Merkur, 9 August 1977)

Forecasts of energy needs vary widely

Forecasts of future energy requirements have proved extremely unreliable in recent years, according to a survey conducted by Applied Systems Analysis (ASA), a project sponsored by a consortium of major research centres all over the country.

Sixteen forecasts of future demand for electric power have been analysed. They have all been published since 1971, but the conclusions reached differ to such an extent that politicians may be excused for feeling none the wiser.

For the turn of the century estimates of the demand for primary energy range from 600 million to 900 million tons of coal equivalent.

Estimates of demand for the individual fuels or energy sources vary even more widely, leading ASA in its annual report to the conclusion that lobby interests seem almost certainly to have influenced the various forecasts.

Many forecasts tend to underestimate the saturation factor. There has never been even a steady, let alone steadily increasing upturn in demand for any of the various fuels or sources of primary energy.

On the basis of trends over the past 25 years, ASA concludes, consumption in all cases cannot be far short of a saturation point.

The oil crisis in autumn 1973 was not, as is frequently claimed, instrumental in bringing about a slower growth rate in the consumption of oil and natural gas. For some time there had already been indications that consumption of both was nearing saturation point. *dpa*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 3 August 1977)

■ PEOPLE

Philosopher Ernst Bloch dies at 92

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Ernst Bloch, whose philosophical motto was: "there is only one fruitful form of memory — remembering what still has to be done," is dead. He died of heart failure in Tübingen on 4 August, at the age of 92. Right up to the last he was working on a new book.

Throughout his life, Ernst Bloch was a profound thinker. Not only in the sense that his way of writing and thinking was not immediately accessible and comprehensible: it was also very difficult to pin him down, to put him in a safe category and have done with him.

Martin Walser said of him, while he was still in the German Democratic Republic: "He is a heretic through and through!" He remained a heretic to the end of his life.

Ernst Bloch was born in Ludwigshafen in 1885, the son of a Jewish official. He became interested in philosophy as a boy.

He read through Hegel, Schelling and Fichte in the Mannheim Schlossbibliothek and wrote his first philosophical essay, entitled "Das Weltall im Lichte des Atheismus" (The Cosmos in the Light of Atheism) at the age of 13. At the age of 17, he wrote the treatise "Die Kraft und ihr Wesen", (The Life Force and its Condition) which contained the germ of his later philosophy of utopia.

After his studies (philosophy, physics and music), Bloch took his doctorate and went to Berlin, where he became a friend of Georg Lukacs. After that, he lived in Heidelberg as a writer and journalist.

In 1933, he was forced to leave Germany. The Nazis had put him on the index for "expressing his contempt for the Third Reich." After stays in Switzerland, France and Czechoslovakia, he went to the USA in 1938. There he did most of the preparatory work on "Prinzip Hoffnung." (The Principle — Hope).

In 1949 Bloch took up the professorship of philosophy at Leipzig. He had turned down a similar post at Frankfurt am Main university on the grounds that he "did not want to serve capitalism."

He was in the Federal Republic of Germany on a lecture tour when the Berlin wall was built in 1961. He did not return, because, as he wrote in a letter to the East Berlin Academy of Sciences, "there is no room left for independent thinkers to live and work." After that he was guest professor at the university of Tübingen.

The central theme of Bloch's philosophy of utopia is that this world is not yet complete, finished. He was one of the first philosophers to take the category of possibility seriously.

In other words he believed that reality as it is could only be adequately judged when one considered the latent potentialities within it and activated them. Mankind has this activating function in the process of history.

The goal of this process is a classless society in which materialism and alienation have disappeared. In pursuing this aim, Bloch was a marxist. However, he denied that this state could be achieved automatically as result of objective laws.

This made him highly suspect in the eyes of the powers that be in East Germany, who had begun by fêting him as their star philosopher. His stance on the risings in Poland and Hungary led to him being deprived of his professorship in 1957.

Bloch became increasingly disappointed that the "socialist" state which he had advocated throughout his life was not prepared to allow man (the "subjective factor" in history) more freedom to shape his own future.

The fact that Bloch eventually returned to the Federal Republic of Germany cannot be interpreted as a "return home." His conception of creative marxism (with Marx beyond Marx) has nowhere been realised.

The petty form of cultural politics practised in East Germany must have especially saddened a man who attached such great importance to the role of art.

His "Geist der Utopie" (Spirit of Utopia), written in 1918, is to a large extent music philosophy, and the "theory of aesthetic appearances" plays a decisive part in "Das Prinzip Hoffnung."

Art plays such an important part in his philosophy because in art we find intimations of a fully realised world and this shows us what humanity is capable of achieving in the real world.

Bloch is no abstract aesthete, though: "Fine feeling and appreciation of the beautiful leads nowhere. It remains within, it cannot get out, it is not communicated."

There is a way out, and this is the shaping of the future by man. This is what makes Bloch one of the most important representatives of a kind of which does not consist in mechanically serving up legitimations of power.

His philosophy goes beyond Marxism. Beyond the practical, political aim of the classless society, Bloch formulates, as the object of history, identity between man and nature. This can still only be described in mystical categories. Bloch's thinking often leaps beyond the category of practical reason.

Bloch was a master of the art of making everyday consciousness the object of philosophy. The starting point of his thinking is so often the "little day-

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Ernst Bloch (Photo: Sven Simon)

Exhibition of Peter Weiss' works in Munich

We have a Swedish cultural official to thank for the exhibition at the Munich Lenbachhaus of works by Peter Weiss, the German dramatist now living in Sweden. Per Drougge from the industrial town of Södertälje wanted to find out for himself about the world famous author's twofold talent for painting and writing.

When he visisted him in Stockholm, he found "piles of pieces of paper and rolled-up oil paintings that looked the worse for wear." He had them all carefully restored and catalogued and has now brought together 120 exhibits.

There are also 30 early drawings from the Friedrich private collection in Munich.

In his first books in the fifties we find the description of an individual who produces pictures and analyses his own artistic development: and the pictures described in these books really exist! The "Atelierzimmer" (Studio) (Prague 1937), which is described in "Abschied von en Eltern" (Goodbye to my Parents) as meticulously as it was painted. Or the works from his academy days which we find described in "Flucht" (Escape).

Speaking in Munich, Peter Weiss says that "the time came when painting was not enough. Writing was simply more dynamic."

But he always considered himself as a painter who did some writing. When his writing provided him with a livelihood and fame, he was amazed.



Peter Weiss' *Webstuhl* (Weaver's loom) (Photo: Katalog)

Weiss's works range from the delicately drawn miniature water-colour from Montagnola, where Hermann Hesse took in the unknown refugee to the oil painting "Jahrmarkt am Stadtrand", which depicts over a hundred figures.

His magical realism in earthy colours sometimes gives way to mannerism



Peter Weiss (Photo: Archiv)

(with Brueghel, Bosch and Arcimboldi as models in the background.)

Weiss now only does collages, like Max Ernst. The material, newspaper cuttings, photographs and illustrations, is put together to form a complicated, sometimes symbolic, sometimes comical whole.

One of the few commissions which Peter Weiss received as an artist from a Swedish publisher for a series of collages to "A Thousand and One Nights." The pictures he produced were humourously and charmingly erotic.

Weiss is a master of a number of techniques, he is well versed in his age which, by association, he shows in his montages. He analyses himself (a number of self-portraits) and his time (in an almost journalistic light) with considerable psychological discernment.

But he also ventures into the depths of the dream world and the unconscious: all elements which recur inhis novels and plays.

In his flight through four countries he has attempted, throughout his almost sixty years, to get hold of the inner and of the outer world. A fascinating artist and, if I may say so, an interesting man.

Annerose Katz

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 4 August 1977)

■ PUBLISHING

Literary magazines find that surviving is a gamble

Spring is here for culture magazines. This is the impression one gets when listening to the booksellers of the "Zweitausendeins Versand." With considerable literary flair and a cut price policy they have been exploiting gaps in the bookselling market. The pace-setters on their sales lists are reprints of the entire yearly output of magazines.

They have reprinted 20 years of "Akzente", which is still Germany's leading literary magazine, in a seven-volume edition with over 12,000 pages. The first twenty "Kursbuch" magazines have come out in a two volume edition.

The founder of the "Kursbuch", Hans Magnus Ezensberger does not want the size of the edition to be made public, so as not to annoy booksellers who have been left out of the deal.

The "Zweitausendeins" hit of the autumn will be Karl Kraus's famous "Fackel" (Torch). All 922 numbers, which appeared between 1899 and 1936, will be coming out in twelve volumes, with 24,500 pages at the incredibly low price of DM148. Planned size of the edition: 10,000.

Springtime for magazines? When you look into it more closely, it is more of a autumn of nostalgia. The most convincing of the schemes already mentioned is certainly the attempt to bring out a cheap version of "Fackel", which has long been recognised as a historical document of the first order.

In the case of "Akzente" and the "Kursbuch", both of which are still being published, this attempt at giving them monumental status seems premature and even slightly unnatural.

Magazines are admittedly not written for the day of issue, but nonetheless contemporary relevance is necessary if they are to have any intellectual impact or critical function. The reprints are mainly of historical interest, or else they are simply aiming to provide reputable and impressive volumes with which to fill gaps on the bookshelves.

The "Akzente" editors were rather saddened by the discrepancy between the reprint edition of 50,000 and current magazine sales of 6,500. The advertising effect of the reprint was ridiculously low. There were order forms for subscriptions to "Akzente" in every copy of the reprint, but not even 100 of the 50,000 took advantage of the offer.

On the other hand, looking for successful magazine publishers is like looking for a needle in a haystack. Compared with book publishing, which is itself a risky and unpredictable business despite market research and concern strategies, magazine publishing is a real gamble.

The question of what constitutes the success or otherwise of a magazine poses a number of problems. Longevity alone is certainly not the criterion.

The legendary "Ruf" edited by Alfred Andersch and Hans Werner Richter, only lasted two years from 1946 to 1947, but for a disillusioned and intellectually starved generation it was tremendously important. It provided sober analyses and political and cultural models for the future.

The magazine "Universitas", founded in the same year and still being printed 32 years later, has never had anything like the same impact. Its solidarity seems to consist mainly in the fact that it meticulously lists all the degrees and academic titles of its contributors.

The total readership of a magazine is also no indication of its importance or effect. "Westermann's Monatshefte" purports to be a cultural magazine for the entire family and this has a considerable publicity effect, but they are also-rans in the fields. Intellectuals can only smile sadly when they hear the magazine mentioned.

When, on the other hand, Joachim Günther, editor of the "Neue Deutsche Hefte" says that "the better a magazine is the more difficult it is to sell," this can only be considered a bon mot.

His own magazine was so difficult to sell that the Bertelsmann concern, to which it once belonged, was not prepared to carry the losses it made and dropped it. Günther now publishes it without outside aid: estimated total sale: 2,000.

Well-to-do publishing houses are not always the best financers and supporters of cultural magazines, as the "Frankfurter Hefte" found out to their cost.

After the war they had giddy sales totals of 80,000, which would have been even higher if the occupying forces had not limited their paper rations.

Aftert he currency reform there was a steep fall-off in sales. A few years ago they were almost at death's door when the Luchterhand Verlag stopped subsidising them.

The editors Walter Dirks and Eugen Kogon decided to go independent and take the risk of founding their own publishing house. And so the magazine lives on "poor, but honest." Total sales: about 5,000.

When you ask Hubert Habicht, editor and co-publisher, how high their deficit is, he answers triumphantly: nil.

The monthly editions still put them in the red, but he difference is made up by separately edited special supplements dealing with special topics. ("Youth", 1975; "Federal Republic of Germany," 1976; "The World of Work," 1977.)

With sales of 25,000 for these supplements, they arrive at the surplus necessary to cover their deficit.

Such well balanced books are the exception rather than the rule with culture magazines.

The oldest of them all, the "Neue Rundschau" which has been in existence for 88 years and is edited by the conservative Golo Mann, presents the S. Fischer Verlag with a 120,000 mark deficit.

And even the left-wing "Kürbiskern" ("Literature, Criticism and Class-struggle,"), cannot finance itself, despite sales between 8,000 and 10,000.

Only the "Kursbuch" leads a carefree life. Originally published by Suhrkamp, it then went to Wagenbach, and has now got a contract with the Rotbuch Verlag. Editor Ingrid Karsunke assured me that the magazine had never needed to take up a single penny of credit.



(Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

The "Kursbuch" does not offer a wide political and cultural kaleidoscope in each issue. Its producers were quick to spot the advantage of concentrating on a subject or subject area in each issue.

The subjects chosen were so controversial and relevant, so thoroughly researched and originally written, that they were guaranteed to appeal to a fairly wide readership.

Today, 45,000 copies of each quarterly issue are printed in the first edition. The absolute hit was the issue before last: "Frauen" (Women); 80,000 copies were printed and almost all have been sold.

The "Kursbuch", which started in 1965, would hardly have had such a brilliant start if Hans Magnus Enzensberger had not been its founder and editor.

Just as "Les Temps Modernes" in France still benefits from the world-wide renown and tireless commitment of its director Jean Paul Sartre, so the most recent and most important publication on the German magazine market, "L 76", the fourth issue of which has appeared, would hardly have reached sales of 10,000 if Heinrich Böll and Günter Grass (along with Carola Stern) had not been editors.

Apart from the pull of big names, it seems to be a fact that magazines with a left-wing trend such as "Kursbuch", "L 76", "Kürbiskern", "alternative", "Argument", and "Neues Forum" in Austria seem to attract more readers than the others, which are more bourgeois, liberal or conservative.

This is probably due to the fact that there is a continued demand and need for left-wing writing, as well as the fact that the students of '67 and '68 remain loyal to "their" magazines.

Perhaps the most unusual magazine of all is the "Bargfelder Bote", named after Arno Schmidt's home on the Lüneburg heath.

The magazine is edited by Jörg Drews now professor in Bielefeld. It was started up after the publication of Schmidt's opus magnum "Zettel's Traum" (Zettel's Dream) and has one subject only, but an inexhaustible one: the work of Arno Schmidt, which is interpreted here with obsessive thoroughness, line for line.

The work appears quarterly, and 1,500 copies are printed: 1,100 Schmidt fans, who are mostly also contributors, have subscribed to the magazine, which gets by without a penny of subsidy.

Hans Joachim Schyle

(Köler Stadt-Anzeiger, 2 August 1977)

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dream", the subconscious or "not yet conscious" arsenal of utopia.

His language continually urges us to take nothing for granted, not to accept what is "understood" and not to write off the apparently banal.

"I am, but I have not taken possession of myself. We still have to become." — "Everyone is alone with himself. And most are alone with others. We have to get out of both."

Such sentences laconically describe the first uncertain movements of thought, the consciousness of a situation which has become suddenly strange.

It will not always remain so. There will be a world in which nothing is strange, in which men feel at home. This is the "ceterum censeo" of a philosophy which Bloch understood and wished others to understand as a practical, political one.

Peter Zudeick

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 August 1977)

■ EDUCATION

Career advisers in a quandary over graduates' job chances in law and medicine

More than 20,000 university graduates are already registered as unemployed, and spokesmen for the medical and legal professions point out that this figure falls well short of the actual total.

Many professional men feel they cannot risk the stigma attached to the dole, while others have given up the struggle to earn a living and taken up alternative employment.

So the true figure for unemployed graduates is probably far higher. Erich Frister, general secretary of GEW, the educational and scientific trades union, reckons at least 20,000 teachers are on the verge of redundancy.

Yet university expansion programmes are still going ahead to cater at inordinate expense for what may well be a non-existent demand.

How many graduates is society going to need in the years to come? There are few subjects on which views differ so wildly. Doctors and lawyers claim there is a serious glut in their professions, yet labour exchanges still reckon there is going to be a shortage of both.

A bright teenager who has recently passed his *Abitur*, or higher school certificate, at Bonn's Konrad-Adenauer-Gymnasium asked the careers adviser at his local labour exchange what, on the face of it, ought to be a straightforward question.

"I should like to study for a law degree, but what with all the talk about a glut of lawyers I feel I ought to ask you what the true position is. Would you advise me against reading law at university?"

This simple query put careers adviser Dr Wagner on the spot. "As a matter of principle we never recommend anyone to steer clear of a particular trade or profession at all cost. Maybe they have the makings of really successful lawyer, in which case they will make the grade whatever the situation is."

But facts, figures and forecasts are available to suit all tastes. According to one estimate there will be a shortage of between 7,000 and 14,000 law graduates in 1980.

State Ministers of Justice, on the other hand, are on record as estimating that the annual output of university law faculties is twice as high as the number actually required.

Bernd Oellers, business manager of the Lawyers Association in Bonn, is even more emphatic. "It is irresponsible to talk in terms of a forthcoming glut of lawyers," he says. "There already is a glut."

Views and estimates vary in equal measure in respect of other professions that have traditionally been the preserve of university graduates.

"Whenever we sound a warning note the response is invariably: 'They are just out to feather their nests and keep competition at bay'," says Klaus Gehb of the Medical Council in Cologne, who is responsible for estimating future manpower demand in the medical profession.

"We have simply given up pointing out that there will soon be a mounting surplus of trained doctors," he adds. On being shown a copy of the latest statistics used by careers advisers and published last May, Gehb just shakes his head and shrugs his shoulders.

According to these figures the annual demand for graduates in medicine and pharmacy amounts to between 10,000 and 12,000. In order to reach this figure an annual university intake of between 15,400 and 18,500 is deemed necessary.

In other words, university places for a further 4,000 students of medicine and pharmacy are still needed, and there will be a shortage of between 40,000 and 60,000 doctors and pharmacists until well into the nineties.

So it would seem only fair to assume that good money can still be earned in the medical profession.

Klaus Gehb has an entirely different tale to tell. "The universities are already producing twice as many doctors as we need. It would make sound sense to halve the annual intake to, say, 5,800, but we would be howled down for even venturing to suggest the idea."

Already 1,315 doctors are registered as unemployed, and no one feels able even to hazard a guess as to the number of doctors who have not signed on the dole, preferring instead to enlist temporarily as sales representatives for pharmaceuticals manufacturers.

"Our forecasts may even err on the optimistic side," Gehb claims. "They could be in need of revision in the wake of measures to cut costs in the health service. A large number of hospitals are already pruning staff."

Klaus Gehb takes a dim view of the argument that a surplus of medical graduates ought to aid the survival of the fittest and best-qualified and so improve the quality of medical services.

"With medical school intake at its present level," he notes, "there will not be enough jobs going as hospital housemen, with the result that by the mid-eighties graduates will have no option, but to embark on general practice immediately on going down from university.

"I leave it to you to decide whether or not general practitioners' qualifications are going to improve as a result."

In a number of professions even the statistics on which careers advisers at employment exchanges base their advice indicate that supply will exceed demand.

From 1985 on there will be a surplus of engineers and architects. By 1980 there will be 10,000 to 16,000 chemists, physicists and mathematicians too many. As for the teaching profession, by 1980 there will be at least 60,000 qualified graduates too many — and maybe as many as 110,000.

Mind you, this surplus could soon be reduced if classes were made smaller, which only goes to show that forecasts are uncertain at the best of times. Demand is dependent on so many factors, both political and economic.

If the politicians were to resolve to make classes smaller as a matter of priority, they could provide jobs for each and every unemployed teacher at one fell swoop — always assuming cash is available to pay the teachers' salaries.

At present 2,028 members of the teaching profession are registered as unemployed, but Erich Frister, general secretary of GEW, the educational and scientific trades union, reckons the true figure is nearer 6,000, with at least a further 20,000 on the brink of redundancy.

The demand for law graduates, the majority of whom have traditionally entered the civil service, is similarly a moot point.

The Federal Labour Office in Nuremberg bases its calculations on the assumption that in 1980 there will be a shortage of between 7,000 and 14,000 law graduates. "Supply will not draw level with demand until the late eighties."

This view is not shared by the North Rhine-Westphalian Labour Office in Düsseldorf, which has issued a press release based on a survey of employment prospects for economists, lawyers and sociologists from 1961 till 1990.

"Demand for law graduates will have doubled by 1990, with a shortage continuing until the early eighties." Yet the Justice Ministers of the states anticipate a surplus of between 13,000 and 21,000 law graduates between 1980 and 1985.

Between 1970 and 1976 the annual student intake at law faculties has increased from 6,566 to 12,000. Local authorities are now only hiring graduates with first-class degrees.

The remainder have no option but to try their luck as solicitors. Between 1964 and the end of last year the number of registered solicitors increased from 19,79? to 31,167, including an increase of 2,460 in 1976 alone.

Horst Zimmermann

(Münchner Merkur, 4 August 1977)

Call to give greater emphasis to the arts in schools

Stuttgart architect Otto Herbert Hajek has for some years been an enthusiastic supporter of bids to make the school curriculum more humane and less geared to achievement, performance and output.

As president of the Arts Association Hajek welcomes each and every opportunity of criticising educational planners and politicians in Bonn, the states and local authorities.

He is scathing in his criticism of educational targets geared exclusively to profit considerations.

"When curricula are pruned because someone has realised that there are limits to the strains that can be imposed on children, the cuts are made on the arts rather than the science side," he complains.

"Art, music and sport are the first to be axed. What we want is equal status for the arts and the sciences," Hajek demands.

In a commentary on figures that have revealed for the first time the true extent of the nationwide shortfall in arts classes Hajek notes that "the content of schooling in this country is geared solely to career requirements, with education being regarded as exclusively utilitarian in purpose."

As the father of five children Otto Herbert Hajek knows from the next best thing to personal experience what he is talking about when he condemns schooling "which is career-orientated from an early stage, pumping children full of information rather than educating them to be creative individuals."

Hajek is soon incensed. "Unless we stop exploiting our intellectual resources in the same way as we have exploited our environment for the past century," he argues, "we will be ruining not only air, water and woodland, but also our children and our very future."

Hajek feels it is deplorable that parents do not object to current educational objectives. Indeed, they seem all in favour of them.

"Children with the best grades will later earn most money. That," he says, "is what many parents seem to think. How else is one to account for the fact that they go to parent-teacher meetings calling for greater emphasis on the science side and less on the arts? "

Hajek does not attribute this state of affairs solely to competition for university places. "The generation that is now in command went to school in the thirties, when creativity was not in demand.

"They represent an entire generation that lacks any grounding in the arts. They were the generation that did not object to art education being ideologised in the sixties and stripped of creativity."

Hajek hits out hard at art teaching at school. "Many teachers regard art lessons as a matter of mere sociology and social criticism. They are failing utterly at their jobs.

"Handicrafts are no longer practised. Pupils are required to do verbal work only. Art teachers would sooner exchange views with sociologists than with artists.

"There are even qualified art teachers who have attained their qualifications without ever going near either a paintbrush or a lump of clay."

As a result, Hajek claims, artists and art teachers are often at daggers drawn rather than engaged in profitable cooperation. Art teachers in Baden-Württemberg, for instance, tried to sabotage a pilot project sponsored by the Bonn Education Ministry with a view to confronting pupils with practising artists.

"The teachers objected on constitutional grounds, arguing that pupils had a right to be taught by people who had at least their qualifications," Hajek scornfully explains.

"But not every artist can lay claim to university entrance qualifications, let alone a degree."

Politicians would not object to experiments along these lines, Hajek says, and he should know, having discussed the proposal with Education Ministers and local government officials.

"But Ministerial bureaucracy is too powerful and inflexible. A Minister may favour an idea, but his civil servants are sure to raise objections. It is the civil servants who exercise real power nowadays, not the politicians."

Yet Hajek and his associates have achieved a number of successes. Art now ranks equal in importance with other subjects on the curriculum at primary schools in Baden-Württemberg.

Consideration is even being given to assigning actors, managers, musicians, painters and sculptors in lessons. Hajek does not doubt for a moment that artists would be happy to lend a hand, but there are limits.

"It is not the responsibility of the Arts Association," he says, "to draw up practicable teaching schedules. We can only lend a hand and make suggestions on the basis of our own experience, sounding a warning note when anything goes wrong."

Renate Faerber

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 August 1977)

■ OUR WORLD

It's a lonely life on the political treadmill in Bonn

Münchner Merkur

What does SPD MP Dieter Lattmann, 51, do when he is sick and tired of the political treadmill in Bonn? He has his own special remedy. He takes a bottle of wine to bed with him during the day and drinks it down to the last drop.

This is one politician's attempt to break out of the relentless daily rhythm of stress, pressure, one appointment after another, too much work and too little sleep, pressure to succeed and fierce competition.

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has described politics in Bonn as a "murderous business", A business that can lead to circulatory collapse and stomach troubles. For many, too, the consequences are fatal. One in twelve MPs dies during his term of office. It is also a business which damages the soul. Politicians lead lonely lives.

Dieter Lattmann's book "Die Einsamkeit des Politikers" (The Loneliness of the Politician) was published recently. In it, he describes how politicians' work leaves them no time for a private life, how it turns them into "emotional cripples." Of his own experience he says: "I simply cannot lead a personal, private life."

This is hardly surprising when one looks at a typical day in Lattmann's life, which is similar to that of most MPs: at 6.30 in the morning he gets up in his Godesberg boarding house, at 7.15 he drives to parliament and at 7.30 he is sitting at his desk.

From then on he just rolls along the parliamentary conveyor belt: reading of draft laws, parliamentary and committee papers, reading newspapers, making telephone calls, answering letters from his constituency, receiving groups of visitors, committee and parliamentary sittings. Fourteen to sixteen hours of work a day — this is the "almost monastic" daily round of a politician.

And even when the lights go out in "Langer Eugen", the MPs' high-rise building, there is still no peace for the politicians. Very few politicians then follow Lattmann's example — he makes a point of retiring into an "extra-political area," i.e. "a pub where I know I'm not going to meet any colleagues."

Most of them spend what is left of the evening with their fellow politicians before going back to apartments or flats which are no more than a place to sleep.

They meet at parties and receptions, stand around cold buffets putting on fat, meet in the clubhouse or the parliamentary society, or in their local pubs, such as the "Kessenicher Hof", where the SPD "Kanalarbeiter" (navvles) gather. There they are all together. But is there any real contact?

There is something sterile about the hearty companionship between the MPs, according to Lattmann. There is little contact between members of different parties. It is virtually an all-male world, with only seven per cent of all MPs women. "There is an atmosphere of old boys' reunions and officers' mess laughter, or else it is like a gathering of eggheads or a building workers' canteen in the Antartic."

In ghettos like this, human contact shrinks to zero point. Finance Minister Hans Apel said that he felt closest to the character in the English and French novels he read in bed at night to keep up his English and French. Often he had "more human contact with these characters than with his flesh and blood colleagues."

There are few real friendships in the Bonn political arena. Lattmann explains why: "In the power struggle professional politicians have learnt to be so distrustful and suspicious that they and up being completely alone." The author admitted that he, too, had "no friend, in the true sense of the word, in Bonn."

Even when he has a family, the politician rarely finds time to break through his isolation and solitude and find peace and rest within the family circle. He is "wedded to power" and there is little room for family life even at the weekend.

Dietrich Lattmann often feels "utterly alone" when he returns to his home in Eckarts, in the Allgau, after a discussion in the evening.

"No one is lonelier than the politician who drives a hundres kilometres and more after an evening meeting in his constituency. One moment you are the centre of attention, the next you are totally isolated."

Lattmann, himself married for over 27 years, says that "when he comes home his family are all asleep and do not want to be woken up ... nobody is going to sit up for ever waiting for someone to come back at all hours ... the best you can hope for when you lead this kind of life is a sort of sailor's marriage."

The younger MPs who have to spend the first half year separated from their families, find this "quarantine" very hard to bear and suffer from "a permanently bad conscience" towards their families. Lattmann's two sons are already grown up, and he admits that he would never have been able to do his full-time job as a politician if he had had young children.

Very few politicians have the strength and the courage to jump off the political carousel every now and then. Most of them are such prisoners of their "will to power" that they are hardly capable of taking "creative breaks" as Chancellor Kiesinger once recommended. They also find it almost impossible to establish real relationships with other people.

Their lives are often similar to those of the Roman emperors — driven on by ambition and restlessness, they narcissistically seek the approval of the masses, with which they have no real contact. Their style of life is not as luxurious and magnificent as the emperors', despite the recent increase in parliamentary salaries.



Dieter Lattmann
(Photo: Sven Simon)

Dieter Lattmann also bemoans the fact that parliamentarians caught up in the political mechanisms of Bonn harden and become incapable of deep feelings. "You cannot help getting the impression with a lot of politicians that they would like to go out and embrace the crowds." Yet they are hardly conscious of the poverty of their real interpersonal contact.

The author therefore gives his lonely and isolated parliamentary colleagues the following advice: "Give all you have got in politics, but do not lose your selves."

Dirk Schubert

(Münchner Merkur, 6 August 1977)

33 books by a writer with his head in the clouds

Lufthansa captain Rudolf Braunburg is "in charge" on DC-10 flights to Accra, Caracas, Chicago, New York and over the Pole to Tokyo. "But before my next flight I have to go to Aschaffenburg to sign autographs."

Rudolf Braunburg does not give his autograph as a airline pilot, but as a writer. In the last twenty years he has written 33 books. "And I wrote three of them under a woman's pseudonym!" When I ask him what it was, he says nothing and just smiles.

We met in the Lufthansa town office at the main line station in Frankfurt. To look at him, you would take him for a university professor and not what he is: pilot and writer.

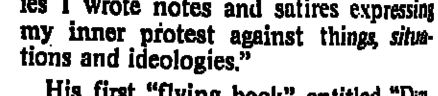
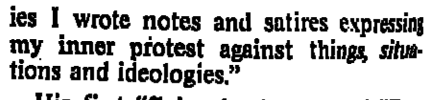
Braunburg was born in Landsberg on the Warthe in 1924. His father was a master locksmith. He wanted to be a pilot from the age of ten on. By that age he had already read all the books of the KLM pilot Adriaan Viruly.

But his father would hear none of it. "You'll be a violinist, you'll always be able to earn a bob or two that way. Or a hairdresser. People need hairdressers in good times and bad. Or a teacher. Teachers get good pensions."

Young Braunburg went along with what his father said. In the war he was a transport and fighter pilot. Then he trained as a teacher and taught for seven years in a Rudolf Steiner school.

He is a passionate believer in the Steiner method, by which children have the same teacher from their first to their eighth school years.

In 1955 Lufthansa started up again. Braunburg enjoyed his teaching and found it hard to leave. "But the pull of flying was even stronger."

Rudolf Braunburg
(Photo: Philipp Kerner)

He spent his first 15 months as a navigation officer, a requirement which was dropped for later generations of pilots. He then went on to become a co-pilot and from 1959 onwards was a captain (in DC-3s, superconstellations, Convairs, Boeing 727s and DC-10s.)

He does not consider his time as navigation officer as wasted. "At least I know something about the weather, and there are not many captains who do."

On the other hand, the west Prussian never showed any interest in taking on a managerial position. "I have 65 flying hours a month on average. With my writing, I feel that I lead a very full and balanced life."

Braunburg began writing as a soldier. "In my war diaries and my student diaries I wrote notes and satires expressing my inner protest against things, situations and ideologies."

His first "flying book" entitled "Dem Himmel näher als der Erde" (Nearer Heaven than Earth) was written in his teaching days. When he started flying again, all Braunburg needed to do was make some changes and add some of his "practical experiences."

Braunburg, who moved from north Germany to Mainaschaff 14 years ago so that he could be nearer his home airport of Frankfurt, has now produced 33 books in all, 14 in novel form.

Braunburg says of his complete works to date (including technical, childrens' and story books): "About 60 per cent are about flying."

"Gina und die Stratosphäre" (Gina and the Stratosphere) was one of his first books, in which he described the life of pilots, co-pilots, stewardesses and navigators with a lot of humour and self-critical irony.

His last five novels have had the highest sales: "Zwischenlandung" (Touchdown), "Piratenkurs" (Pirate's Course), "Monsumgewitter" (Monsoon Storm), "Deutschland-Flug", (Flight over Germany), "Nachtstart" (Night-Take-off) are give-away titles: flying is the main subject here, too.

He has also written a book about wolves called "Der Töter" (The Killer). It is ull of scientific information which he got from his friend Dr Ziemann, an expert on wolves.

And what is he captains' writing like? "The towns I fly to, the hotels that I know like the back of my hand now stick in my mind like pictures. Sometimes I suppress them, but they keep coming back and I then write about them. It means I can write very economically."

Braunburg is married to a former

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■ SPORT

Soccer star Paul Breitner back with some new ideas

A few years ago, before he parted company with Bayern Munich and lined up alongside Günter Netzer at Real Madrid, soccer star Paul Breitner was never at a loss for an answer to reporters' queries.

What did he want? A resounding defeat for the United States in Vietnam. What prospect dismayed him most? A Bonn government headed by Franz Josef Strauss.

And now? Paul Breitner still sports his Afro hairstyle, but what does he think under that mop of curly hair? He is glad to be back, that is for sure.

Breitner feels he has been welcomed back like a prodigal son. "People now take me at face value, as a football player," he reckons.

No one ever doubted his ability in the playing enclosure. What made him a target for sports reporters was his reputation as a left-winger, but he is no longer to be persuaded to pose for the photographers sporting a copy of the *Peking Review.*

Three seasons in Madrid have been a welcome hiatus, and Paul Breitner is no longer content to resume his old role. "What I want is peace and quiet and an opportunity to come to terms with myself."

He nurtured his negative image even at the stage where it no longer gave him the slightest satisfaction.

But when a reporter asked him what he read in his spare time, neatly insinuating that the soccer star's leisure reading might be a well-known pulp hero, Paul Breitner felt duty-bound to reply that his tastes were considerably more highbrow.

"No," he replied, "Karl Marx." And that was that. He was typecast.

Now he takes care not to be stampeded into any particular corral. He professes an open mind and claims to feel he has an enormous backlog to make good in learning what has happened in this country during his absence.

Breitner says he needs to put in some reading and find out what has been going on before he ventures an opinion. And he and the family have moved from Munich to Brunswick, where he is now under contract to Bundesliga club Eintracht.

His wife and children have just made the move. The children will be going to kindergarten this autumn. Breitner himself is to resume his university course. Starting "some time in October" he will be a fifth-semester student at the department of education.

He does not anticipate any clash in the time schedules of university and professional soccer, and Breitner is looking forward to university as a counterweight to the physical demands of his football career. "I need the intellectual challenge."

So Paul Breitner remains an unusual specimen among professional soccer players. His new club will find out soon enough where his rough edges are, if he still has any.

Breitner himself reckons he no longer does. "I am never homesick. I can live anywhere, adapt anywhere and make the best of any situation as far as I am concerned."

He does not agree that he is the star that Brunswick has long lacked. "Stars," he says, "are typecast." But he does feel that Brunswick has hidden its light under a bushel for far too long, and Breitner intends to make sure that his new team-mates are given a decent build-up.

"After all," he says, "you have to be convinced of your product in business." Self-confidence, he feels, is one of his good points, although he readily admits that he is quick-tempered and easily provoked.

He regards himself as a fanatic for justice and reckons that both Günter Netzer and Paul Breitner were dealt a raw deal by the Press when they left this country and signed for Real Madrid.

He, for instance, was alleged to have given the Spaniards the benefit of his inside knowledge on how to beat the national side for which he had been capped 28 times.

Paul Breitner is still extremely sensitive about allegations that are tantamount to accusations of high treason. He insists that they are utterly baseless and unfounded.

The Spanish blend of work and living suited him down to the ground. People in this country make heavy weather of both, he reckons. Our daily routine is programmed with less regard for freedom.

As for football, Breitner feels he has definitely become a more accomplished professional than he used to be. Does this, by any chance, mean that he has designs on a cap for his country in next year's World Cup tournament in Argentina?

Paul Breitner is still only 25 and far from convinced that his international career is over. He attaches no importance whatever in this context to his relations with DFB officials in Frankfurt. As he sees it, he never had any.

"Relations," Breitner says, "are something personal. What matters are my relations with Herr (national coach Helmut) Schön, with whom I would have to come to terms."

He is keen to build bridges. "I shall certainly be here in Argentina, whether as a player, a tourist or a journalist. That much I owe my Argentinian friends."

But he has burnt his bridges with Bayern Munich. "I could easily have rejoined my old squad," he points out. Ties with his old club are "strictly business", apart from with Uli Hoeness, who is a personal friend.



Paul Breitner
(Photo: Nordbild)

Breitner reckons Bayern lack a truly professional approach to the game. He points out that but for the transfer of Franz Beckenbauer to he New York Cosmos Bayern would have made a loss last season.

Forward defence is his forte, and he is quick to sense an attack that must be pre-empted. His piercing gaze turns into a glower.

Paul Breitner is no longer prepared to make a song and dance about a collar and tie, however. In his Bayern days he reckoned to own only one tie. "Now I set great store by good clothes."

In days of yore he only listened to pop music. "Now I enjoy listening to classical music." And he is the first to admit such matters are a question of personal likes or dislikes.

But he sees nothing contradictory in driving a Maserati and working with disabled children, although he is quick to add that if you have brain as well as brawn you run a grave risk of being typecast.

So he is more careful in his answer to reporters' queries. Does this perhaps mean that he no longer has a point of view? Is this a new Breitner we see before us? A rebel, a reformer or just an opportunist? We shall see.

Hans-Joachim Leyenberg

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 August 1977)

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stewardess. ("I got to know Anne Marie through my job. She was different from most stewardesses.") He often works on several books simultaneously. "At the moment I am working on four books on four different typewriters."

One of these books is entitled "Jagd-Geschwader" (Fighter Squadron). "It is an anti-war book that I have been wanting to write for thirty years!

"My favourite book: 'Kraniche am Kebne Kaiser' (Cranes at Kebne Kaiser) — Kebne Kaiser is the highest mountain in Lapland — was not about flying at all, but it was a failure."

However, a number of papers and magazines think very highly of Braunburg as a story-teller, travel-writer, specialist writer and essayist. He will shortly be writing an article in "Geo" on his experiences as a passenger of the trans-Siberian railway.

Rudolf Braunburg will remain in charge for another two years. Then he will retire from Lufthansa. And then? "I have seen so much, stored up so many impressions that I will have enough material for the rest of my life."

But even when he has retired, Braunburg will have other important interests apart from writing.

"When I stop flying, I'll spend the extra time on music (Braunburg is a jazz fan and plays tenor saxophone clarinet and trumpet) and painting. I might even become a student again."

Till then, Rudolf Braunburg leads a full life between technology and creativity — or, as he himself puts it, "in a perfect interconnection between inner and outer world."

Jutta W. Thomasius

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 29 July 1977)

Eckhard Dagge loses his title in the 5th round

Fanfares greeted the entry into the ring of Eckhard Dagge, professional boxing's world super welterweight champion. The time was 11 p.m., the date 6 August, the place Deutschlandhalle, West Berlin.

Over ten thousand fans packed the hall to see Dagge, 29 years old and 69.85 kg (154lb), take on Rocco Mattioli, an Italo-Australian who weighed in two pounds the lighter.

None of them expected to see the defender down for the count half an hour later. In his twenty-fifth professional bout this country's first world champ since Max Schmeling was poleaxed by a left hook with forty seconds to go in Round Five.

Mattioli, at 1.73 metres (5ft 8in), was four inches shorter and five years younger than Dagge, but he was a bundle of energy who laid into the outgoing champ for all he was worth.

Yet the knockout came as a surprise, since Dagge withstood the punishment manfully, was level on points in Rounds One and Three, was in there fighting all the time and in no way a poor performer.

Thirteen months had elapsed since his sensational knockout defeat of Elisha



Eckhard Dagge after being knocked out
(Photo: dpa)

Obed of the Bahamas, but Dagge was forced to relinquish the champion's belt in his third defence of the title.

It was tough luck inasmuch as a win against Mattioli would have meant he would not have had to defend his title for another twelve months, leaving himself time to line up unofficial and lucrative contenders.

As it was, however, Eckhard Dagge ended up as Rocco Mattioli's thirty-sixth knockout victim in 53 professional bouts, 48 of which he has won.

Just after midnight Mattioli rang his parents at their farm near Melbourne to tell them the good news. The family emigrated from a village in one of the poorest regions of Italy twenty years ago, the same part of the country as Rocky Marciano's forebears, incidentally.

Manager Willy Zeller was consoled neither by the record takings of nearly 700,000 deutschmarks nor by the fact that nineteen-year-old Jörg "Babyface" Eipel of Berlin won the European welterweight crown in a supporting bout.

"Losing the world crown has relegated professional boxing in this country to the role of an outsider in international terms," Zeller lamented.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 8 August 1977)